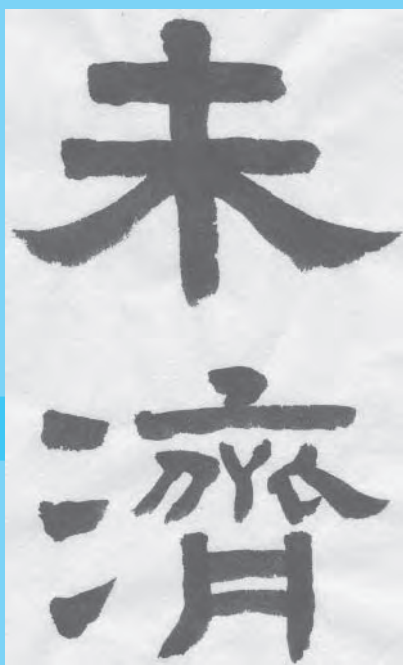


The *Yijing* and Chinese Politics

Classical Commentary
and Literati Activism
in the Northern Song
Period, 960–1127



Tze-ki Hon

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The *Yijing* and Chinese Politics

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in the Northern Song Period, 960–1127

Tze-ki Hon

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To Wan-Chiung 婉瓊

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versus Civil Governance: A Comparison of the Old History and the New History of the Five Dynasties,” in *Imagining Boundaries: Changing Confucian Doctrines, Texts and Hermeneutics* edited by Kai-wing Chow, John B. Henderson, On-cho Ng (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), 85–106.

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Chronology of Northern Song Emperors

Taizu 太祖, 960–76

Taizong 太宗, 976–97

Zhenzong 真宗, 997–1022

Renzong 仁宗, 1023–63

Yingzong 英宗, 1063–67

Shenzong 神宗, 1068–85

Zhezong 哲宗, 1086–1100

Huizong 徽宗, 1101–1126

Qinzong 欽宗, 1126–27

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Introduction

This book is about how the educated elite of the Northern Song (960–1127) came to terms with major political and social changes through commenting upon the *Yijing* (Book of Changes). By relating classical commentary with history, this book attempts to link two different fields of study in premodern China: the study of the *Yijing* and the study of the Northern Song. Although the relationship between the two fields has long been recognized, little effort has been made to render the relationship explicit. Thus, the goal of this book is to demonstrate how the *Yijing* commentaries can be an important source of information on the momentous political and social changes of eleventh-century China.

The study of the *Yijing*, originally developed as part of the missionaries' attempt to match Christianity with Confucianism, has been conducted in a fashion best described as the "book of wisdom" approach. Even though it has long been known to Western scholars that the *Yijing* was originally a divination text in early China and did not become a Confucian classic until 135 B.C.E.,¹ major *Yijing* translators such as Rev. Canon McClatchie, James Legge, and Richard Wilhelm interpreted the classic as if it were transtemporal. Certainly, this ahistorical approach has the merit of giving interpreters the liberty to render the text in ways that are accessible and meaningful to Western

audiences, and the popularity of the Richard Wilhelm and Cary F. Baynes translation during the 1950s and 1960s proves the strength of this approach. However, the “book of wisdom” approach also ignores the history of the text and the impact of that history on the social and cultural life of China. As Richard John Lynn points out, “we are becoming increasingly aware that the [*Yijing*] exists in as many versions as there are commentaries on it: its text is so dense and opaque that its meaning depends on how commentaries interpret it.”² And the limits of the “book of wisdom” approach are most revealing in its lack of attention to *Yijing* learning during the Northern Song—a period widely known in standard accounts of Chinese classical commentary as one of the most productive times in the history of the classic.³

In contrast, the study of Northern Song China has been driven by an interest in social mobility. From Edward Kracke to John Chaffee to Robert Hymes and Peter Bol, historians are concerned with broad patterns of socioeconomic transformation by analyzing the civil service examination system and the changes in the self-identity of the educated elite.⁴ There is, of course, much to be gained from this “longue durée” approach, such as a deeper understanding of the structure of Chinese society, and a better view of the mechanisms through which different groups of Chinese rose and fell on the ladder of success. However, in centering on broad patterns of socioeconomic change, historians have not been giving sufficient attention to classical studies, particularly classical commentary. This lack of attention to classical commentary is troubling in light of the historians’ quest for better understanding of the complexity of Northern Song social change. Well known for its success in opening the floodgate of social mobility by institutionalizing and expanding the civil service examinations, the Northern Song was a time when classical studies became a major channel for the educated elite to succeed socially and politically. For pragmatic purposes or personal interests, members of the Northern Song educated elite had to excel in classical scholarship in order to be significant players in social and political discourse. And there is no way to gauge the full impact of social change on their lives and their self-perception unless we examine carefully their classical scholarship.

Coming to Terms with Change

How am I going to link the two fields of study? To answer this question, we need to know what the *Yijing* is about. The *Yijing* (also known as

I Ching) literally means “the classic of change.” It is a text of multiple layers, and through these multiple textual layers, it discusses the notion of change. First of all, the original layer of the classic, commonly known as the *Zhouyi* (The *Yi* of the Zhou [Dynasty]), consists of sixty-four hexagrams, each accompanied by a hexagram statement and six line statements.⁵ The sixty-four hexagrams are graphic representations of a dynamic universe. As a grouping of six lines intricately related, each hexagram is a field of action with multiple actors or factors. Reading from the bottom to the top, a hexagram is a situation in which six players or components are locked into a complex network of correspondence based on their positions in the hexagram and their *yin* (passive) and *yang* (active) predisposition. For instance, the first, second, and third lines (counting from the bottom) are considered to be the lower trigram, and the fourth, fifth, and sixth lines are grouped together as the upper trigram. Each trigram is regarded as a separate unit with its own dynamics, and each plays an important role in influencing the overall relations of the six lines. Within a hexagram, the second line and the fifth line are considered to be a pair, even though they are far apart spatially. The second line (usually known as the line of an official) is supposed to render direct service to the fifth line (usually called the line of an emperor), and in turn, the fifth line is expected to supervise the second line in carrying out whatever task is at hand. To make the *Yijing* even more interesting with respect to graphically depicting the possibility of change, each hexagram can be linked to, and sometimes even be transformed into, another hexagram based on line alignment or the *yin-yang* correspondence. Accordingly, the sixty-four hexagrams become sixty-four different configurations of forces that are part of a gigantic and dynamic system. As such, they symbolize the infinite possibilities of structuring human and natural resources in coming to terms with contingency and change.

In addition to the sixty-four hexagrams, the *Yijing* also contains the Ten Wings—seven pieces of commentarial material divided into ten documents including *Tuan* (Commentary on the Hexagram Statements) I and II, *Daxiang* (Commentary on the Images of the Hexagrams), *Xiaoxiang* (Commentary on the Images of the Hexagram Lines), *Xici* (Attached Verbalization or Great Treatise) I and II, *Wenyan* (Commentary on the Words of the Text), *Shuogua* (Remarks on Trigrams), *Xugua* (The Sequence of Hexagrams), and *Zagua* (The Miscellany of Hexagrams). Although written in a different style and focusing on different issues, the Ten Wings share the same theme

of comparing changes in the human world with those in the natural world, making both appear to be resonating with one another.⁶ This theme is particularly clear in the *Xici*, which stresses the mutual correspondence between the natural and the human worlds.⁷ Consider, for instance, the discussion of “the Way of the Three Realms” (*san ji zhi dao*) in chapter 2 of *Xici* I. Speaking of a hexagram as representing both the natural and the human worlds, the *Xici* chapter describes the movement of the six lines as the transformation of the “Three Realms”—Heaven (*tian*), Earth (*di*), and Humankind (*ren*).⁸ Whereas Heaven and Earth denote the forces of change in the natural world, Humankind symbolizes what human beings can do to manage their lives. Thus, the mutual correspondence and interdependence of the six lines—particularly the ways in which the *yin* lines interact with the *yang* lines—reflect waxing and waning, rise and fall, and fortune and misfortune in both the natural and the human worlds. The six lines of a hexagram imply that what happens in nature will have an impact on human beings, and vice versa.⁹

Through these different measures—graphic images, diagrams, philosophical treatises, and short essays—the *Yijing* reveals patterns of change. It discusses how to initiate change when things do not work, and how to cope with atrocity and turmoil when things have been turned upside down. Addressing an issue that is so fundamental to human life, the *Yijing* speaks to everyone who is in the midst of change. For the blessed, it issues warning about the transience of success and the danger of hubris. For the downtrodden, it offers encouragement to make the best out of a given situation and to work for a better future. For the rest, it provides resources to anticipate, in Richard Gotshalk’s terms, the “movement into the unknown and the uncertain.”¹⁰

From historical sources, we learn that people of the Northern Song were indeed facing dramatic change. During the Northern Song, none of the big aristocratic families who had previously monopolized power and wealth had survived.¹¹ The trinity of their power—land ownership, access to office, and education—was rendered ineffective by the introduction of the civil service examination system as the ladder of success.¹² Testing candidates’ command of the classics and language skill, the civil service examinations were open to all who could pay their way to the examination halls. In theory if not in practice, merit rather than family background determined one’s chance to enter into the government. Although historians are still debating on what exactly that social mobility meant and how big an impact the social mobility

had on Chinese society as a whole, there is little doubt that the social structure of China in the eleventh century was quite different from that in the ninth and tenth centuries. As expected, this drastic social change created anxiety among those who were in the midst of it. Especially for the people on the upper rungs of the social ladder, the stake was even higher. If they managed to cruise through what John Chaffee calls “the thorny gates” of civil service examinations,¹³ they would gain power, wealth, and prestige, transforming themselves into active players in governing. But if they were stopped at the thorny gates, they would remain obscure scholars who might continue to write to lament their fates or to teach to plant seeds for future change, but they would have limited impact on government and society. Recently historians such as Peter Bol, Beverly Bossler, and Tao Jingsheng have found an array of materials including letters, poems, paintings, funerary writings, and tomb inscriptions in which the educated elite expressed in clear terms their hopes and fears of this drastic change.¹⁴

This anxiety about change and the apprehensions about the uncertain future also contributed to a great number of writings on the *Yijing*, the classic that directly dealt with the question of change. For instance, in the “*Yiwen zhi*” (Record of Literature and the Arts) of the *Song shi* (History of Song), we are informed of more than sixty commentaries written on the *Yijing* during the Northern Song. Although many of these commentaries are no longer extant today, the list of commentators is impressive, including such major cultural figures as Chen Tuan (?–989), Shi Jie (1005–1045), Liu Mu (?–?), Shao Yong (1011–1077), Hu Yuan (993–1059), Ouyang Xiu (1007–1070), Zhang Zai (1020–1077), Wang Anshi (1021–1086), Sima Guang (1019–1086), Su Shi (1037–1101), Cheng Yi (1033–1107), and Lü Dalin (1046–1082?).¹⁵ If we add to this list authors of treatises, essays, and poems about the *Yijing*—for instance, Li Gou (1009–1059) who wrote thirteen essays on the *Yijing*, and Fan Zhongyan (989–1052) who composed five rhapsodic poems (*fu*) on themes of the *Yijing*—the number of Northern Song *Yijing* exegetes would be staggering.¹⁶ Further evidence of this tremendous outburst of energy on the *Yijing* is found in the comments of the eighteenth-century editors of the *Siku quanshu* (The Complete Works of the Emperor’s Four Treasuries). Viewing the history of *Yijing* learning as a linear progression of “two schools and six subgroups” (*liangpai liuzong*), the editors held the Northern Song in high regard by linking many of the key developments in *Yijing* learning to that period. According to the editors, whether it was the *xiangshu* (image

and number) or the *yili* (principle and meaning) school of *Yijing* commentary, the Northern Song commentators were well represented, and many of them (e.g., Chen Tuan, Shao Yong, Hu Yuan, and Cheng Yi) were in fact pivotal figures in establishing the basic rules for interpreting the *Yijing*.¹⁷

Yet, despite their huge number and the high honor bestowed on them in later centuries, the Northern Song *Yijing* commentaries have not been studied as *voices of change* in the way that some historians have done with letters, poems, paintings, funerary writings, and tomb inscriptions of the same period. This is partly due to, as discussed earlier, the “book of wisdom” approach of *Yijing* studies that presents the classic as transtemporal and ahistorical. This is also partly due to the lack of dialogue between scholars in the field of *Yijing* studies and the field of Northern Song studies. To fill this void, this book examines the *Yijing* commentaries written from the 1050s to the 1090s, when the Northern Song educated elite felt most acutely the impact of political and social change on their lives. Focusing on three exegetes—Hu Yuan, Zhang Zai, and Cheng Yi—this book examines the debates among the educated elite over their role as political and social leaders. By comparing these three exegetes’ readings of the *Yijing* with those of their peers, this book traces the changes in the self-identity of eleventh-century educated elite, who considered themselves to be corulers of the empire rather than the emperor’s subservient administrators. This self-identity of the educated elite was predicated upon an assumption that only they could fully comprehend the intricacy of human affairs and that even the emperor himself had to learn from them about the skills of ruling. This assumption, presumptuous and impractical as it may seem, won the day in the Northern Song. In this book, we will see why this assumption appeared to be convincing to the educated elite, how the assumption acquired new meaning over time as the country’s fiscal and military crises deepened, and what impact it had made on the political discourse of the Northern Song.

Synchronic Comparison

In recent years, we have witnessed a tremendous increase in interest in the study of Chinese classical commentary. This interest has shed new light on what “classic” meant in imperial China and how a classic was transmitted in the Chinese tradition. For instance, John Henderson has identified the assumptions and strategies that governed the Chinese

commentators in interpreting the Confucian classics.¹⁸ Based on a comparison of differing commentaries to the *Shijing* (Odes, or Book of Poetry), Steven Van Zoeren demonstrates the creative process in which the Chinese commentators rendered a classic anew.¹⁹ Concentrating on the commentaries to the *Laozi*, Rudolf Wagner explains the craft of the commentator Wang Bi (226–249) in relating the classic to his times.²⁰ Employing the European theories of hermeneutics to discuss Chinese classical commentaries, Daniel Gardner and On-cho Ng demonstrate how a detailed study of the Confucian commentarial tradition will yield a deeper understanding of Chinese cultural history.²¹

With respect to the Northern Song, two works are extremely important in elucidating the historical significance of classical commentary. One is Alan Wood's *Limits to Autocracy: From Sung Neo-Confucianism to a Doctrine of Political Rights* (Honolulu, 1995), in which the author compares the commentaries to the *Chunqiu* (Spring and Autumn Annals) by Sun Fu (992–1057), Cheng Yi, and Hu Anguo (1074–1138). Wood uses these three commentaries to demonstrate how the Northern Song educated elite intended to gain more power by supporting imperial autocracy on the basis of “honoring the emperor and expelling the barbarians” (*zunwang rangyi*). He explains that, paradoxical as it may seem, the educated elite's support of imperial autocracy rested on a pragmatic calculation—the opportunity “to appropriate for themselves the emperor's power through their dominance of the government bureaucracy.”²² While Wood may be too ambitious in using the Northern Song case to launch his broad-sweeping comparison of Chinese, Japanese, and European political philosophy,²³ nonetheless his analyses of the three *Chunqiu* commentaries point to the close connection between classical commentary and political discourse during the Northern Song.

Even more relevant to the present study is *Sung Dynasty Uses of the I Ching* (Princeton, 1990) jointly written by Kidder Smith, Peter Bol, Joseph Adler, and Don Wyatt. The book is significant in two respects. First, it represents the first attempt at defining a methodology for studying *Yijing* commentaries as historical documents. Calling their method “the study of the [*Yijing*] in history,” the four authors plan to show “how a classic was appropriated by later thinkers, how a single text could be taken to mean many different things, and what it is about the [*Yijing*] that made it so significant to literati of the [Song].”²⁴ In essence, they lay out an approach that centers on the *Yijing* commentaries rather than the *Yijing*, that focuses on the creativity of *Yijing* commentators

in reinventing the classic, and that stresses the historicity of *Yijing* commentaries as direct responses to change in time.²⁵ Second, by offering a detailed analysis of four eleventh- and twelfth-century *Yijing* commentaries, the authors of *Sung Dynasty Uses of I Ching* demonstrate what commentators must do in order to make the *Yijing* meaningful to their readers. On the one hand, they must understand the spirit and letter of the *Yijing* in light of its received commentarial tradition. In the case of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it means that the commentators had to be familiar with the differences between the Han Dynasty method of employing images and numbers in interpreting the *Yijing* and the Wang Bi method of rendering the *Yijing* as a moral and philosophical text.²⁶ On the other hand, commentators must give life to the *Yijing* by transforming it into a voice of the present, speaking directly to issues at hand. In the context of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it means that the commentators had to wrestle with such issues as the relationship between literary creation (*wen*) and moral cultivation (*dao*), and the link between self-cultivation (*de*) and the pursuit of knowledge (*xue*).²⁷

Their contribution to the historical study of Northern Song classical commentary notwithstanding, Wood and the four authors of *Sung Dynasty Uses of I Ching* adopt what I would call a diachronic comparison of classical commentaries. By that I mean they compare classical commentaries across time, decades or hundreds of years apart. Take, for example, the three exegetes whom Wood compares. Sun Fu lived in the early Northern Song period, shortly after political fragmentation had ended. The mood of his time was one of hope and optimism. In contrast, Cheng Yi spent much of his mature life confronting factional rivalry of mid-Northern Song. The climate of his time was one of conflict and reconciliation. For Hu Anguo, who lived during the transition from the Northern Song to the Southern Song, he faced the threat of foreign invasion and endured the humiliation of seeing the Song court move from Kaifeng to Hangzhou. The environment of his time was one of crisis and turmoil. Given the distinct differences between these three exegetes, comparison of their *Chunqiu* commentaries cannot be done simply on such a broad basis as statecraft (Sun) versus morality (Cheng and Hu).²⁸ Rather, it has to be done by taking into account the distinct historical context in which each commentary was written.

Similarly, *Sung Dynasty Uses of the I Ching* is hampered by its temporal structure. Writing their works at a time when eleventh- and

twelfth-century intellectual life was considered to be part of the “unfolding of Neo-Confucianism,”²⁹ the four authors saw the Northern Song *Yijing* learning as a stepping-stone for Zhu Xi’s (1130–1200) grand synthesis. Although the bulk of the book is clearly about the Northern Song, with five out of seven chapters devoted to eleventh-century *Yijing* scholars, including Ouyang Xiu, Su Shi, Shao Yong, and Cheng Yi, ultimately it is Zhu Xi of the Southern Song who ties the book together. Born a century later than the rest of the exegetes discussed in the book, Zhu Xi is presented as the one who “resolves” the differences and the controversy among the Northern Song exegetes.³⁰ Even though Zhu Xi’s *Yijing* scholarship was evidently based on prior work in the Northern Song (particularly those of Shao Yong and Cheng Yi), in their concluding chapter, the authors of *Sung Dynasty Uses of I Ching* suggest that Zhu’s achievement in *Yijing* learning “was part of his exhaustive reevaluation and systematization of virtually the entire Chinese cultural tradition.”³¹

In view of the limitations of a diachronic comparison, I adopt in this book a synchronic comparison. I structure the book in accordance with three time periods of the Northern Song: (1) the early Northern Song, covering from 960 to 1022, in which the Song court rebuilt a centralized government by marginalizing aristocratic families and the military establishment on the one hand, and forming a partnership with civil bureaucrats on the other; (2) the mid-Northern Song, covering from 1023 to 1085, in which the Song court decided to carry out large-scale reforms to address problems arising from the increase in fiscal costs and alarming military failures; (3) the late Northern Song, covering from 1086 to 1127, in which the Song government suffered, as a consequence of its flip-flop in reforms, from rounds of factional rivalry among civil bureaucrats. In each of these periods, I focus on one *Yijing* commentary as my entry point into the milieu of the time. Accordingly, for the early Northern Song period, I examine Hu Yuan’s *Zhouyi kouyi* (The orally transmitted meanings of the *Yi* from the Zhou [Dynasty]);³² for the mid-Northern Song period, Zhang Zai’s *Hengqu yishuo* (An explanation of the meanings of *Yi* [by a reader] from Hengqu); and for the late Northern Song period, Cheng Yi’s *Yichuan yizhuan* (A commentary on the *Yi* [by a reader] from Yi River). Unlike Wood and the four authors of *Sung Dynasty Uses of I Ching*, I examine these three commentaries not just as they are, but also compare them with other commentaries of the same period of time.³³ For Hu Yuan, I compare his commentary with those of Li Gou and Ouyang

Xiu who, like him, were active in calling upon the educated elite to join the Song government as civil bureaucrats. For Zhang Zai, I compare his commentary with those of Sima Guang and Shao Yong who, along with him, stressed the importance of inner cultivation to attain a full vision of one's role in the universe. For Cheng Yi, I compare his commentary with Su Shi's, his archrival within the antireform camp. Both of them, having spent years in banishment to remote corners of the country, used the occasion of writing *Yijing* commentary to reflect upon the causes of human conflict and the prospect for reconciliation and harmony.

These comparisons, of course, are not exhaustive. They focus primarily on what some *Yijing* scholars may call the *yili* school of commentary.³⁴ I also do not include a number of important Northern Song *Yijing* exegetes such as Chen Tuan, Liu Mu, and Lü Dalin, who deserve careful study. Incomplete as they are, these comparisons are to make explicit the interrelationship between history and classical commentary—that is, how issues of the day affect an exegete's reading of a classic, and how an exegete's reading of a classic helps to shape the direction of public debate. These comparisons highlight the variety of opinions within the same period of time, and the multiple possibilities of the *Yijing* to be a forum for political discourse. More importantly, they call attention to the dramatic changes during the Northern Song that have received little attention to this day: the destruction of military governance in the early Northern Song period; the flourishing of civil governance in the mid-Northern Song period; and the trials and tribulations of civil bureaucrats in the late Northern Song period. And the lives of the three exegetes who serve as the anchors in this book mirror these important changes.

Born in 993 when the Song court had just solidified its control over its territory, Hu Yuan belonged to the first generation of Northern Song educated elite with an acute sense of living in a new era. Having witnessed the gradual establishment of civil governance, characterized by large numbers of scholars being admitted into the Song bureaucracy by passing the civil service examinations, he took it upon himself to articulate the mission of these new civil bureaucrats, who believed they ruled the world with the emperor. Thirty-years junior to Hu Yuan, Zhang Zai grew up at a time when civil governance had been firmly established and the civil bureaucrats were in full control of the government. Unlike Hu Yuan who struggled against the military governance of pre-Song times, Zhang Zai took civil governance for granted. In his

mature life, he witnessed two drastic reforms of the mid-Northern Song—the 1043–1044 reform of Fan Zhongyan, and the 1068–1085 reform of Wang Anshi—both planned and led by civil bureaucrats. Seeing only the positive aspects of civil governance, Zhang Zai firmly believed in the possibility of founding a perfect human order based on a civil code of behavior. Twelve years younger than Zhang Zai, Cheng Yi saw the benefit and also the cost of civil governance. Having spent his first fifty years studying Confucian classics as a private scholar, Cheng Yi was appointed in 1086 as the teacher of the young Emperor Zhezong, a golden opportunity to rule the empire through teaching. Unfortunately for Cheng Yi, that teaching duty took place at the height of factional rivalry among groups of civil bureaucrats, and it made him an easy target of political retaliation. Consequently, he suffered tremendously from political rivalry: banishment, the burning of his writings, being forbidden to take office in the capital, not being allowed to teach publicly, and most damaging of all, having his name marked on a condemnatory stone tablet placed outside the imperial palace. At the low point of his political career, Cheng Yi sought solace in the *Yijing* and contemplated, through writing a commentary, what had to be done to reinvent the civil governance.

Song Learning versus the Learning of the Way

What we are going to find in this synchronic and historically based comparison of *Yijing* commentaries are the intellectual vitality, daring thoughts, breathtaking ideas, and grandiose plans that made the Northern Song so unique. And as such, the picture of eleventh-century intellectual life that we are about to see differs substantially from that of the *Daoxue* (Learning of the Way) studies. As mentioned earlier, in conventional accounts, many of the Northern Song *Yijing* exegetes are traditionally grouped together as forerunners of the Cheng-Zhu school of *Daoxue*. For instance, in Zhu Xi's *Yiluo yuanyuan lu* (Records of the Origins of the School of the Chengs) and the “*Daoxue*” chapters of the *Song shi*, Cheng Yi and Zhang Zai were featured as members of the “Five Masters of the Northern Song” (*beisong wuzi*) who allegedly partook in the transmission of the true Confucian Way leading to Zhu Xi. In both accounts, which are still considered by many to be foundational texts for studying the Song-Ming *Daoxue*, efforts were made to underscore the relative importance of the two Northern Song thinkers in their transmission of the true Confucian Way. Hence Cheng

Yi, who is taken to be more pure in transmitting the true Confucian Way and the cofounder of the Cheng-Zhu school of *Daoxue*, was placed ahead of Zhang Zai, despite the fact that Cheng was junior to and a nephew of Zhang.³⁵ Although hardly a *Daoxue* thinker by conventional standards and born a generation prior to Cheng Yi and Zhang Zai, Hu Yuan was honored in Quan Zuwang's (1705–1755) *Song Yuan xue'an* (The Song and Yuan Schools of Learning) as a thriving force for the establishment of Song *Daoxue*.³⁶ Likewise, in discussing Hu Yuan's contribution to the study of the *Yijing*, the eighteenth-century editors of the *Siku quanshu*, who were heavily influenced by the Song-Ming *Daoxue*, made strenuous efforts to emphasize the link between Hu and Cheng Yi. They wanted to give an impression that despite belonging to an earlier generation, Hu did play a significant role in shaping the development of Song *Daoxue*.³⁷

There is no doubt that these Northern Song thinkers contributed, directly or indirectly, to the formation of the Cheng-Zhu school of *Daoxue*; nevertheless, the traditional picture of them suppresses their differences of opinion and their creativity in rendering the *Yijing* anew. In this book, by showing their differing interpretations of the *Yijing* and their creativity in using the classic to respond to issues of their times, I join other historians in making a sharp distinction between “Song Learning” (*Songxue*) and the “Learning of the Way” (*Daoxue*). This distinction, simply put, is one of time and scope. “Song Learning” refers broadly to a rebirth of interest in Confucian classics and literary writings during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The “Learning of the Way” describes, more narrowly, one particular group of the Song Confucians in the twelfth century, whose writings formed the basis of the state orthodoxy from the Yuan to the Qing periods. This distinction—supported by Hoyt Tillman, Peter Bol, Thomas Wilson, and Benjamin Elman³⁸—rectifies two problems in earlier scholarship. One is the tendency to read retrospectively the intellectual history of the Northern Song as preparation for founding *Daoxue* in the hands of Zhu Xi. These “Zhu-centered projections of Song learning,” as Hoyt Tillman points out, “have exaggerated [Zhu’s] role and ideas at the expense of major alternatives during the Song.”³⁹ Second is the lack of attention to *Daoxue* as a state orthodoxy which was created to set limits on intellectual diversity. “By viewing *Daoxue* as a problem in intellectual history rather than just a stage in the march of philosophical truth,” Benjamin Elman suggests, we will be able to make “the process

of Southern Song literati classifying themselves as orthodox an object of historical analysis.”⁴⁰

Thus, in reading the following chapters, readers are advised to keep in mind that we are dealing with “Song Learning,” not the “Learning of the Way.” We are discussing a flowering of intellectual originality and diversity, long before it was absorbed, subsumed, and redeployed as part of the “Learning of the Way.” The book opens with two chapters that provide the historical and textual contexts of Northern Song *Yijing* commentary. Chapter 1 explains the historical uniqueness of the Northern Song as a break from previous practices of militarism. Taking to heart the volatile history of the preceding century, the early Northern Song emperors were determined to restructure their government to eliminate the possibility of military coups d’état and the domination of aristocratic families. As a result, a new form of political structure, civil governance, was created based on a partnership between the Song imperial court and the up-and-coming civil bureaucrats. Much of the changes in the eleventh-century interpretations of the *Yijing* would be directly or indirectly related to this civil governance. Therefore, before we examine the commentaries, we need to consider what the civil governance was and how it had shaped the self-perception of civil bureaucrats.

In chapter 2, I discuss the *Yijing* text of the Northern Song. As a multilayered text transmitted through centuries, what exactly the *Yijing* text looks like and how it should be read are questions that remain unresolved today.⁴¹ But in the eleventh century, the question about the *Yijing* text was comparatively simple. For better or worse, the *Yijing* was simply the *Zhouyi zhengyi* (The true meaning of the *Yi* of the Zhou [Dynasty]) compiled by a team of Tang classical scholars headed by Kong Yingda (574–648). In the *Zhouyi zhengyi*, designed as a composite commentary to standardize the reading of the *Yijing*, there were not only informed annotations on every part of the text, but also suggestions as to how to properly pronounce each word of the classic. Assigned as the text to be examined in the *Yijing* section of the *ming jing* (understanding the classics) examination, the *Zhouyi zhengyi* was literally the official *Yijing* commentary of the Northern Song. Not surprisingly, all the exegetes discussed in this book understood the *Yijing* through the lens of the *Zhouyi zhengyi*, and they wrote their commentaries in part to respond to its interpretations of the classic. So to fully appreciate the creativity of these eleventh-century exegetes,

we have to know the textual parameters that the *Zhouyi zhengyi* had set for them.

The next three chapters are the heart of the book. Through a synchronic comparison of selected *Yijing* commentaries, each chapter examines major public issues in one particular period of the Northern Song. The story that unfolds in these chapters describes what the Northern Song educated elite had gone through in building civil governance to break from the previous practices of militarism. It focuses our attention on the jubilation of the educated elite in parting ways with the past and envisioning a perfect human order. It also tells us about their anxiety, agony, and regrets when dealing with the reality of politics and the horrendous results of factional rivalry. Together, these three chapters offer us a glimpse of the hopes and fears of the eleventh-century educated elite in their attempt to build a new sociopolitical order, which was supposed to bring peace and prosperity to the human community.

In the conclusion, I return to the theme of linking history with classical commentary. I assess the significance of Northern Song *Yijing* exegesis in light of the current scholarship on the *Yijing* and the history of eleventh-century China. I suggest that despite occasional pedantry, the Northern Song *Yijing* exegetes wrote their commentaries in response to the sociointellectual change of eleventh-century China, and as such, they contributed significantly to the establishment and functioning of civil governance. To different degrees, they were instrumental in fostering the political idealism of Northern Song civil bureaucrats who expressed their courage and imagination in full force in the drastic reforms of the mid- and late Northern Song. In hindsight, the civil bureaucrats might have overestimated their ability in establishing a perfect human order. However, even seen from today's perspective, their courage to envision a new sociopolitical system is admirable, and their ability to imagine the unimaginable is what makes the Northern Song so unique.

1

The Northern Song Historical Context

In the chaotic period of the Five Dynasties, an emperor was not an emperor, a father not a father, a son not a son. Even the human bonds governing older brother and younger brother, and husband and wife were completely destroyed. [During this time,] the principle of Heaven was almost annihilated.

—Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Wudai shi*

In the study of Song China (960–1279), experts in the field tend to see the period as part of a long process of change dating back to the Tang Dynasty (617–907). This six hundred years of change, or the Tang-Song transition, is believed to have drastically altered the political, social, and cultural structure of medieval China, thereby laying the foundation for the following centuries until the end of the monarchical system in 1911.¹ Politically, many scholars see the period as a continuation of the weakening of the Chinese state while Chinese society became increasingly powerful and variegated. For these scholars, this weakening of the Chinese state may have begun in the Tang, but the process definitely quickened when the Song court was forced to move in 1127 from Kaifeng (in the Eastern Yellow River basin) to Hangzhou (in the lower Yangzi River area). For them, the relocation of the Song court signifies not only the transition from the Northern Song to the Southern Song, but more importantly, the further disintegration of the national polity and the concomitant rise of the local gentry as the real power holders.²

The Tang-Song transition was equally dramatic with respect to technology and the economy. Many historians of the Song describe the period as full of rapid technological and commercial progress. There occurred rapid urbanization, the rise of a monetary economy,

the creation of movable-type printing, the development of new staple and commercial crops, a rapid increase in population, and a robust maritime trade.³ Most significantly, these technological and commercial developments have led many historians to believe that during the Tang-Song transition, the economic center of China shifted from the Yellow River valley to the Yangzi River valley, and hence altered the basic structure of the Chinese economy in the following centuries.⁴

Corresponding to these social and economic changes, important intellectual changes took place during the Tang-Song transition. These included the rise of ancient prose style, the revival of classical studies, the emergence of civil culture, and the genesis of *Daoxue*. For many Song experts, these intellectual changes were not isolated events. Instead, they were attempts by the educated elite to redefine themselves in response to momentous sociopolitical changes. From “the aristocratic clans” to “the civil bureaucrats” and to “the local elite families,” each time the educated elite changed their self-definition, they altered the criteria by which the upper echelon of Chinese leadership was measured, and consequently redefined the boundaries within which they would operate in state and society.⁵

As a part of this broad scheme of development, the Northern Song (960–1127) is often assigned an ambiguous role. Temporally located at the midpoint between the Tang and the Southern Song (1127–1279), the Northern Song is frequently seen as either a recipient of something that happened in the past or a forerunner of something important in the making. On the one hand, it is seen as an extension of the Tang, namely, the revival of *guwen* (old style) prose and of Confucian ethics started by Han Yu (768–824), and the continuation of the decline of the aristocratic clans in Chinese politics since the mid-eighth century. On the other hand, it is understood as a preparation for the Southern Song, such as the decentralization of state power from the civil bureaucrats to the local gentry, and the gradual crystallization of *Daoxue* eventually completed by Zhu Xi. There are certainly many valuable insights to be gained from seeing the Northern Song as a midpoint of some broad trends. At the same time, we also lose sight of the particularity of the Northern Song as a unique historical period. For the Northern Song people, especially the educated elite, their main concern was neither to imitate the Tang nor to pave the way for the Southern Song. Rather, their main concern was to find solutions to problems and conflicts that plagued their lives. To fully appreciate the historical significance

of the Northern Song, it is imperative to keep in mind its particular historical context.

Two Centuries of Military Governance

One of the issues that the Northern Song educated elite had to grapple with was how to construct a lasting civil governance. The goal of constructing civil governance—a sociopolitical order founded upon a civil code of behavior and administered by a group of learned men steeped in classical studies—was to replace its opposite sociopolitical order, military governance. Built on a military code of behavior and ruled by military generals, military governance stressed efficiency, a clear chain of command, and the absolute obedience of juniors in rank. While both forms of sociopolitical order accepted the paramount power of the emperor and the legitimacy of the imperial system, they differed fundamentally in ways by which to allocate political power, resolve conflicts, and structure political and social life.

Immediately preceding the Northern Song, for over two centuries, much of northern China practiced military governance. This military governance, which first appeared after the Rebellion of An Lushan (755–763), was a combination of Central Asian nomadism and the Tang system of military governorship (*jie du shi*). This rise of military governance took several steps. It began with the division of the mid-Tang empire into a military zone in the northeast and a civil zone in the central and southern parts of the country. This bifurcation of China into military and civil zones led to what contemporary historian Chen Yinke (1890–1969) calls the condition of “one dynasty, two states” (*yichao liangguo*).⁶ The process continued with the expansion of the military zone at the expense of the civil zone. It finally reached a point in the late Tang, around the time of the Huang Chao rebellion (875–884), when the military governors displaced the Tang court as the *de facto* rulers of China. This militarism reached its climate when the military governor of Henan, Zhu Wen (r. 907–912), brought the Tang dynasty to an end in 907.

The fall of the Tang signaled the beginning of a period of fifty-three years of total military control of China, known in history as the Period of the Five Dynasties (907–960). The Period of the Five Dynasties includes five northern dynasties and ten southern kingdoms. The five northern dynasties, located in the Yellow River valley and the Wei River region, were Later Liang, Later Tang, Later Jin, Later Han, and

Later Zhou. The ten southern kingdoms, clustered around or south of the Yangzi River valley, were Wu, Nan Tang, Wu Yue, Min, Nan Han, Chu, Early Shu, Later Shu, Nan Ping, and Bei Han. During those fifty-three years, changes of power took place frequently, sometimes as frequently as once every ten to fifteen years. Among the five northern dynasties, three of them (Later Liang, Later Tang, and Later Jin) were founded by Shatuo Turks, who had been present in China for centuries as Tang military officers. To indicate their link with the Tang imperial court, some of the Shatuo Turks carried the Tang royal family name Li, such as the first emperor of Later Tang, Li Cunxu (r. 923–926).⁷ Exemplifying the extent to which China had been militarized, the military generals were in complete control of the government, and the civil officials were at best secondary players in politics.

This militarization of China also brought change to the family system. Family ties, rather than being based on blood genealogy as prescribed by Confucianism, entailed the widespread practice of adoption based on practical convenience and mutual interest, modeled after the military custom of “joining hearts by sharing the same family name” (*xixing yi jie qixin*) between generals and soldiers.⁸ Originally, the practice was a means for military generals to build up an elite army known as the “Army of the Adopted Sons” (*yier jun*). Personally loyal and directly responsible to the military generals, the “Army of the Adopted Sons” was the core army of the military generals in battle and the administrators in occupied territories. Related as lords and vassals, the military generals and the “Army of the Adopted Sons” pledged to share whatever they gained in conquest.⁹ This practice of “joining hearts by sharing the same family name,” which later spread to nonmilitary sectors, meant that once pledged, the two strangers would treat each other as father and son. The adopted father would regard his adopted son as if he were his son by blood, giving him full-fledged family privileges and property inheritance. Likewise, the adopted son would regard his adopted father as if he were his real father, cutting all connections with his biological father. This practice, a product of military governance, transformed the family structure in much of northern China during the ninth and tenth centuries.

A case in point is how the second emperor of the Later Tang, Li Siyuan (r. 926–933), rationalized in 925 his decision to succeed his deceased stepbrother Li Cunxu. As an adopted member of the ruling Li family, Li Siyuan’s decision involved two parts: (1) how he claimed

to inherit his stepbrother's throne based on kinship; (2) after his rise to power, whether he should establish a new dynasty or continue the imperial line of the Later Tang. In his first public announcement after ascending the throne, Li Siyuan gave answers to these two questions:

I had served *Xianzu* [the father of Li Keyong, the founder of Later Tang] since I was thirteen years of age. Since then, I have been doing my best to serve the [Li] family as if it were my own family. I had also served *Wuhuang* [Li Keyong] for thirty years by helping him resolve problems, bearing the gusty wind and pouring rain, and risking my life in combat. [In the process,] I had experienced all the danger and borne all the hardship. The enterprise of *Wuhuang* is my enterprise; the world ruled by earlier [Li] emperors is my world. Hence, I am following the rightful procedures as a younger brother to succeed my deceased older brother [Li Cunxu]. Since it will deviate from the rites and conventions if members of the same family adopt a different dynastic title, I will take full responsibility for the fortunes of the [Li] family, regardless whether the future will be kind or harsh on us. [Therefore,] I have decided not to accept the suggestion [for establishing a new dynasty].¹⁰

There is no doubt that Li Siyuan's announcement, elegant and majestic, was part of his ploy to legitimize his rise to power. But even in this political act, we see how the practice of "joining hearts by sharing the same family name" had changed the notion of family in tenth-century China. Li Siyuan's main argument was that one's kinship was not given by birth; rather, it was earned through sharing hardship together to achieve a common goal. For more than thirty years, he claimed, he had worked hard to improve the interests of the ruling Li family, proving his full-fledged membership of the family. It was on the ground of kinship earned through sharing hardship that he thought he had the right to inherit his stepbrother's throne. To make certain that there was no further doubt about his full-fledged membership in the Li family, he rounded off his announcement by stating that he had resisted the temptation to create a new dynasty. Whether Li Siyuan truly believed in what he said or whether he thought that founding a new dynasty would be harder to justify than inheriting a throne, we do not know. Nevertheless, it is clear that he put "joining hearts by sharing the same family name" to good use to advance his political interests.

Reconstruction of Civil Governance

With this historical context in mind, the resemblance between the early Tang and the Northern Song—particularly with respect to the pen controlling the sword and the center dominating the periphery—was not repetition by chance. In fact, the Northern Song rulers reconstructed civil governance after it had lost its appeal for quite some time. In this process of reconstructing civil governance, the Northern Song rulers certainly took into consideration the early Tang model. As much as possible, they wanted to emulate what the early Tang rulers had accomplished three centuries before in putting in place a civil code of behavior. At the same time, they also intended to go beyond the early Tang model to make sure that the new civil governance would not eventually produce the military domination that brought an end to the Tang.

This Northern Song project of reconstructing civil governance was easier said than done. Much rebuilding had to take place to break down the military establishment, particularly the military governance at the center and the military practices in society. In terms of putting an end to the military governance at the center, the first two Northern Song emperors—Taizu (r. 960–976) and Taizong (r. 976–997)—had made decisive moves to centralize the military forces in their own hands. Themselves career military officers before coming to the throne, the two emperors made three major changes during their reigns. First, immediately after the Song was established, all the major generals were asked to give up their military power. Known in history as “dissolving military power over a cup of wine” (*beijiu shi bingquan*), this transition of power took place during an imperial dinner in which Emperor Taizu succeeded in persuading his military generals to accept retirement.¹¹ Second, the military establishment was completely overhauled in such a way that the best army of the country was stationed around the capital, Kaifeng, leaving the feeble and the less trained to the provinces. In effect, this centralization of military force ended the late Tang system of military governorship.¹² Third, all the top military positions were filled by civil ministers certified by the expanded civil service examination system, setting the stage for civil officials to dominate military affairs. Throughout the Northern Song, all the military policies, including war plans and combat strategies, had to be approved by the top civil officials in the government.¹³

Concomitant to the destruction of military governance was the rise of civil bureaucrats through an expansion of the civil service examinations. Although scholars are still disputing the impact of the examination system on the social structure of the Northern Song,¹⁴ there is no doubt that a new ruling class emerged in the Northern Song that earned its right to rule by passing the civil service examinations. A major characteristic of these civil bureaucrats was their undivided loyalty to the emperors. To underscore the civil bureaucrats' link to them, the Northern Song emperors, beginning with Taizong, officiated over the palace examination.¹⁵ As the ceremonial chief examiners who failed no one, the Northern Song emperors performed the act of ordination. They granted titles, and thereby the license to rule, to the successful examination candidates. In return, the civil bureaucrats were expected to serve the emperor with their hearts and souls. Hence, a partnership was formed: the civil bureaucrats would have the power to rule the country, but they pledged not to challenge the imperial authority, as the aristocratic families and military generals had done during the late Tang and the Five Dynasties period.

In the *Song shi*, we find evidence of this partnership between the Northern Song emperors and the civil bureaucrats. In the opening paragraph of the "Biographies of the Loyal and the Righteous" (*Zhongyi zhuan*), the editors of *Song shi* made the following remarks: "During [the period] of the Five Dynasties, the literati's spirit of loyalty and righteousness had completely dissipated. At the beginning of the Song, even [chief councilors like] Fan Zhi and Wang Pu had reasons to regret, not to mention others. . . . During the reigns of emperors Zhen[zong] and Ren[zong], distinguished men in the government such as Tian Xi, Wang Yucheng, Fan Zhongyan, Ouyang Xiu, and Tang Jie promoted straight-talking and speaking in one voice. As a result, officials and gentry throughout the empire aspired to moral integrity and a sense of propriety. Gone were the vulgar practices of the Five Dynasties period."¹⁶ To the editors of *Song shi*, a drastic change in the Northern Song bureaucracy took place during the reigns of Zhenzong and Renzong (997–1063), when civil bureaucrats replaced the aristocratic families as the administrators of the empire. On the one hand, the civil bureaucrats were more loyal to the emperor than their predecessors, placing the interest of the empire above and beyond their own interests. On the other hand, they demanded a closer relationship with the emperor, actively and aggressively participating in making decisions with the emperor on matters related to the empire.

Characteristics of the Mid-Northern Song

Although, due to the concerted efforts from above, military governance had been structurally demolished in the first three to four decades into the Song, many military practices and military values remained dominant in society. It took another half century, through the reigns of Renzong (r. 1023–1063) and Shenzong (r. 1068–1085), for the new civil governance and the new civil culture to be fully developed. Those sixty years from 1023 to 1085, commonly known as the mid-Northern Song, have long been regarded as the high point of the Northern Song period. In thought, the first generation of the *Daoxue* scholars such as Shao Yong, Zhou Dunyi (1017–1073), Zhang Zai, Cheng Hao, and Cheng Yi began to make their marks in the intellectual landscape.¹⁷ In government, the three major Northern Song political thinkers and reformers—Fan Zhongyan, Wang Anshi, and Sima Guang—implemented drastic reforms to shape the country in accordance with their own social and political visions.¹⁸ In the arts, the essayist Ouyang Xiu, the painter Guo Xi (ca. 1020–after 1090), the calligrapher Mi Fu (1051–1107), and the poet Su Shi, completed their masterpieces, which are still admired today.¹⁹

It would certainly be an exaggeration to characterize the mid-Northern Song as a complete break with the early Northern Song, but substantial differences are evident in the values and social practices of these two periods. One key difference was the self-identity of the educated elite who gained fame and power by participating in or passing the civil service examinations. While during the early Northern Song, members of the educated elite were still fighting against the old habit of mind that required civil officials to be subservient to the rulers, during the mid-Northern Song they were confident that they were the “corulers” of the empire. As the corulers, they believed that they were ruling the country *with* the emperor rather than *for* him.²⁰ They thought that they were legitimate leaders of the empire, sharing with the emperor all his responsibilities of ordering the world. It was in this context of the educated elite believing in ruling the empire with the emperor that Fan Zhongyan, Wang Anshi, and Sima Guang carried out drastic reforms to address the administrative, financial, and military problems of the mid-Northern Song.

A prime example of the difference between these two generations of literati was their views on the Five Dynasties official Feng Dao (882–954). A respected scholar and a skillful civil official, Feng Dao

served in four out of the five dynasties of the chaotic period.²¹ He had a good relationship with major military leaders, so much so that despite rapid dynastic changes he always found a way to remain in power. Other than being good at winning the trust of the military leaders, Feng Dao was also capable of serving as a bridge between the military rulers and the civil officials. He was particularly good at remonstrating with the military leaders in humble and yet clear language mixed with military metaphors. As the subservient civil official par excellence, Feng Dao saw himself as a follower of Confucian teachings. In the preface to his “A Self-Portrait of the Ever-Happy Old Man” (*Changlulao zixu*), he presented himself as a contented old gentleman who was proud of watching his family flourish under him. He claimed that in public he might have shifted his loyalty from one imperial court to another, but in private he had done his utmost to perpetuate his family interests.²²

In the *Old History of the Five Dynasties* (*Jiu Wudai shi*) compiled by Xue Juzheng (912–981), we find a positive assessment of Feng Dao’s career. Finished in 974, two decades after the founding of the Song, the *Old History* represented the view of the early Northern Song literati who looked up to Feng Dao as their model. In the *Old History* account, Feng Dao’s subservience as a civil official was considered to be a virtue rather than a defect. After a summary of Feng Dao’s life, Xue Juzheng offered the following remarks on Feng as a historical figure: “What [Feng] Dao had done exemplified the standards of ancient gentlemen. What [Feng] Dao had achieved in subservience to [leaders] fulfilled the demanding task of a major official.”²³ By emphasizing that Feng Dao’s subservience was fulfilling his responsibility as an official, Xue judged Feng Dao on the basis of a submissive official (*chen*) in serving a dominating emperor (*jun*), the first relationship in the Confucian Five Cardinal Relationships (*wulun*). For Xue, after Heaven had made its view known regarding who was the Son of Heaven, an official had to follow the Mandate of Heaven by serving him wholeheartedly. Thus, there was nothing wrong with Feng Dao’s subservience, and he should be honored as a faithful Confucian official.

Nor was Feng Dao morally wrong in serving four dynasties, according to Xue Juzheng. Himself having served in four dynasties, Xue commented favorably on a group of Later Liang civil officials who joined the Later Tang government. He complimented them for rendering a high quality of service to both governments as a “steadfast palm tree [which] does not change in the four seasons, and a broken jade [which] can stand a hot fire.”²⁴ In Xue’s mind, given the political

situation in the Period of the Five Dynasties, the civil officials were at best secondary players in politics. What the civil officials could hope to achieve was to serve responsibly any government that happened to have the Mandate of Heaven. Judging Feng Dao by the standards of his time, Xue had no doubt that he was a successful Confucian official.

In the *New History of the Five Dynasties* (*Xin Wudai shi*) by Ouyang Xiu, however, we have a completely different picture of Feng Dao.²⁵ Completed in 1053, when the fourth emperor of the Song Dynasty, Renzong, was directing his attention to reform the country's bureaucracy and economy, the *New History* presented the view of the mid-Northern Song civil bureaucrats who entered the Song government by passing the civil service examinations, not through blood privileges or family network. In the *New History* account, Feng Dao became the symbol of what had gone wrong in the Five Dynasties. In a didactic tone, Ouyang Xiu condemned Feng Dao for being shameless:

Having read Feng Dao's self-glorifying account in his *Preface to an Ever-happy Old Man*, I find him shameless. One can tell how shameless the society was at that time. In the Period of the Five Dynasties, I can only find three persons with full integrity, and fifteen civil officials died for their government. But there were many strange people wearing Confucian gowns and claiming to learn from the past. They received high salary and served in the government, but they never made sacrifice for the sake of righteousness and loyalty. Instead, only the military officers and soldiers made sacrifice. It seems that there was no true Confucian scholar [in the Period of the Five Dynasties].²⁶

For Ouyang, the case of Feng Dao was revealing. It revealed how serious militarism had become during the Five Dynasties. Not only had militarism corrupted the Chinese state and the Chinese family, it had also corrupted the scholars, the self-proclaimed custodians of Confucian ethics and Confucian culture. Even if both the Chinese state and society were corrupted, there was still hope that a moral reawakening might occur through the mere examples of a few true scholars. But since most of the scholars, like Feng Dao, were so eager to accept the status quo, Ouyang found the Five Dynasties utterly hopeless.

Particularly important to Ouyang was what Feng Dao's example might have meant to his mid-Northern Song readers. To fully appreciate Ouyang's concern, we need to keep in mind that, up until 1032, early Northern Song emperors continued to pay tribute to Feng Dao

by regularly granting official titles to his descendents.²⁷ This policy of honoring Feng Dao appeared to terminate in 1051 after Emperor Renzong refused to grant the great-grandson of Feng Dao a government title after his submission of Feng Dao's policy papers to the government.²⁸ For Ouyang, if Feng Dao could be called a Confucian official and was regularly honored by the emperors, the Northern Song project of rebuilding civil governance would only be empty rhetoric. For him, his critique of Feng Dao was not only a critique of him as a person, but also a critique of the feckless Confucian scholars who had yielded to the rulers and the military state.

Factionalism in the Late Northern Song

As leaders of Northern Song civil governance, there were two sides of the educated elite's belief in ruling the empire with the emperor. On the one hand, they were extremely active, sometimes even zealous, in participating in governing. Driven by their self-imposed mission of ordering the world with the emperor, the educated elite assumed a wide range of duties: counseling the emperor on national affairs, carrying out government policies, supervising military campaigns, looking after provincial and village schools, serving as local governors, and so on. They were so eager to partake in governing that they would do anything as long as it benefited the empire. The great reformer Fan Zhongyan gave poetic expression to this political activism by calling on his fellow civil bureaucrats to be "first in worrying about the world's troubles and last in enjoying its pleasures."²⁹ On the other hand, with high expectations attributed to their participation in governing, they were unwilling to yield in policy debates, regardless of whether the opposition came from their own kind or from the emperor himself. As the country confronted internal and external problems, their reluctance to compromise and their propensity to be morally dogmatic produced rounds of bureaucratic factionalism that split them into groups competing for power.³⁰

Worse yet, as the scope of reform expanded from the times of Fan Zhongyan to the times of Wang Anshi and Sima Guang, bureaucratic factionalism became increasingly intense. As a result, during the reigns of Zhezong (r. 1086–1100), Huizong (r. 1101–1125), and Qinzong (r. 1126–1127), commonly known as the late Northern Song, officials in the central government were practically divided into two opposing camps: one in support of Wang Anshi's reform called the *xin tang* (new

party), and the other in support of Sima Guang's reform called the *jiu tang* (old party). At the height of partisan factionalism, when one group was in power they expunged the other group from the government; when the other group held the upper hand they returned the favor. As a result, almost all major cultural/political figures of the late Northern Song, including Cheng Yi, Su Shi, Su Zhe (1039–1112), and Liu Zhi (1030–1098), were involved in partisan factionalism. Many of them, most notably Cheng Yi and Su Shi, suffered from humiliating banishments.³¹

During the last forty years of the Northern Song, when the body politic of China was threatened internally by partisan factionalism and externally by foreign invasion, some members of the educated elite began to question the validity of civil governance. They wondered whether civil governance was responsible for incapacitating the central government and weakening the military defense. Shortly before the Song court was to move south to Hangzhou to escape the invading Jurchen army, the discourse on civil governance had reached full circle. The high hopes in the early Northern Song for ordering the world gave way to end-of-the-dynasty pessimism about the human inability to control one's life. Although many members of the educated elite were not yet willing to let the military generals and aristocratic families take over the government, they had lost confidence in themselves to build a perfect human order based on classical learning and a civil code of behavior.

Scholar-Official and Scholar-Gentleman

In the following chapters, we will examine this momentous transformation from military governance to civil governance during the Northern Song. Particularly, we will focus on the change in the self-identity of the educated elite who played a leading role in building civil governance. Like other social groups, the educated elite were not monolithic. There were, at least, two major types of educated elite—or, using an eleventh-century term, *shi* (men of letters). The first type was the scholar-official. It refers to men of letters who, with or without aristocratic family backgrounds, joined the bureaucracy after successfully passing the civil service examinations. These men of letters were given the power to rule having proven their accomplishment in classical and literary training. The three great Northern Song reformers—Fan Zhongyan, Wang Anshi, and Sima Guang—are the prime examples of

scholar-official who mastered the Confucian classics, passed the civil service examinations, and applied their knowledge of the classics to governing. The second type was the scholar-gentleman. It refers to men of letters who were yet to pass the civil service examinations, but they used their family and educational backgrounds to cultivate a social network with those in power. Some of these men of letters achieved fame by socializing with powerful officials, and others entered the bureaucracy based on the recommendations of their friends in high position. Cheng Yi is a good example of the second type. He did not pass the civil service examinations, and yet based on Sima Guang's recommendation, he earned a job in 1086 as the teacher of the teenage Emperor Zhezong.

This distinction between the scholar-official and the scholar-gentleman is significant because it shows the variety of roles assumed by these men of letters in state and society, and the webs of relationship that bound them together as a group. More importantly, it points to, using Pierre Bourdieu's words, the "cultural capital" of these men of letters in advancing their social and political interests.³² Through patronage, sponsorship, inter-marriages, and informal social networks, these men of letters enjoyed a range of social and political resources that were not available to other walks of life.³³ There was, however, one precondition. All of these social and political resources became available to these men *only after* they had demonstrated their classical and literary skills in the civil service examinations.

2

The Northern Song Yijing Text

The *Yijing* was written to teach a lesson . . . to decipher [the functioning of] Heaven and Earth, to give order to human relationships, and to explain the Kingly Way.

—Kong Yingda, *Zhouyi zhengyi*

The *Yijing* that a Northern Song person read was not the same as the one canonized in 135 B.C.E. Certainly the Northern Song person still read the sixty-four hexagrams, the hexagram statements, the line statements, and the Ten Wings—all the parts that formed the *Yijing* in the Western Han. However, he no longer read them independently. Instead, he read them based on the commentaries written from the third to the seventh century. As the official commentary to the *Yijing* in the eleventh century, the *Zhouyi zhengyi* (True meanings of the *Yi* of the Zhou [Dynasty]) comprised three interlocking parts: the classic, its commentary, and a subcommentary to the commentary. With these three parts, the *Zhouyi zhengyi* firmly united the *Yijing* with a commentarial tradition and guided readers to understand it from a particular perspective. What was that particular perspective? How was it presented and reinforced through the complex textual body of the *Zhouyi zhengyi*? What was its impact on the men of letters of the eleventh century? These are the questions that this chapter addresses.

Unifying the Yijing Interpretation

Let us begin with the history of the *Zhouyi zhengyi*. In 631, thirteen years after the founding of the Tang Dynasty that ended centuries of

division in China, Emperor Taizong appointed Kong Yingda (574–648) to head a massive project known as the *Wujing zhengyi* (True meanings of the five classics). The project was to compile sub-commentaries on the Five Confucian Classics: the *Yijing*, the *Shujing* (Book of History), the *Shijing* (Book of Poetry), the *Liji* (Records of Rites), and the *Chunqiu* (Spring and Autumn Annals). As part of the Tang effort to unify China, the goal of Kong's project was to eliminate differences in classical scholarship that had developed over centuries of division. To unify the interpretation of the Confucian classics, Kong adopted a two-pronged strategy. First, he identified what he considered to be the best commentaries on the Five Classics. Second, in order to make certain that the chosen commentaries would be properly understood, he led a group of classicists to compose subcommentaries (*shu*) to those commentaries.¹

For the *Yijing*, Kong chose the third-century *Zhouyi zhu* (Commentary on the *Yi* of the Zhou [Dynasty]) as its official commentary. His explanation for the decision was brief but decisive. To him, the *Zhouyi zhu* was simply the best commentary ever written to the classic. Although many high-quality commentaries had been written, none of them, according to Kong, could be compared to the *Zhouyi zhu*.² Seen with our historical hindsight, Kong's decision was not as simple as it appeared. First, he had a number of alternatives in deciding upon an official *Yijing* commentary, such as the Han Dynasty commentary by Zheng Xuan. Given his assignment to unify the interpretation of the *Yijing* after centuries of division, he knew his decision would shape the way that the *Yijing* was to be read in the Tang. Second, in the early Tang, the *Zhouyi zhu* was more popular among scholars in southern China than in northern China.³ Fully aware of the regional differences in *Yijing* scholarship at his time, he understood that his preference for the *Zhouyi zhu* would not please everyone, especially the *Yijing* scholars in the north. Yet, with so much at stake, he chose the *Zhouyi zhu* as the official commentary of the classic.

Like the *Yijing* text itself, the *Zhouyi zhu* was also a composite text. There were two commentators in the *Zhouyi zhu*—Wang Bi (226–249) and Han Kangbo (d. ca. 385). Wang Bi wrote commentary on the sixty-four hexagrams and their hexagram and line statements. He was also the author of six essays suggesting ways to read the *Yijing*. Those essays—collectively known as the *Zhouyi lüeli* (Brief remarks on the *Yi* of the Zhou [Dynasty])—accompanied the *Zhouyi zhu* as appendixes.⁴ The other commentator, Han Kangbo, wrote commentary on the rest

of the *Yijing*, including the *Xici*, *Xugua*, *Shuogua*, and *Zagua*. Although little is known about him and his relationship with Wang Bi, many *Yijing* scholars in the early Tang (Kong Yingda included) regarded him as a follower of Wang Bi, and therefore considered his commentary a faithful summary of Wang Bi's views. Thus, the *Zhouyi zhu* was often referred to in the Tang as the Wang-Han commentary.

Despite the fact that Kong Yingda was listed as the author, a number of scholars were involved in the writing of the *Zhouyi zhengyi*. First was Lu Deming (550–630) who wrote philological notes explaining how to pronounce each word of the classic. Second was Kong Yingda who wrote a subcommentary to both Wang Bi's commentary on the sixty-four hexagrams and Han Kangbo's commentary on the rest of the *Yijing*. He was also the author of the preface (*xu*) to the *Zhouyi zhengyi* and seven short essays explaining the textual history and commentarial tradition of the *Yijing*. Both the preface and the seven essays appeared at the beginning of the *Zhouyi zhengyi*. Third was Xing Shu (date unknown) who wrote a commentary to Wang Bi's *Zhouyi lüeli*. Along with Wang's *Zhouyi lüeli*, Xing Shu's commentary appeared at the end of the *Zhouyi zhengyi*. In addition to these three authors, the names of four high-ranking Tang officials were mentioned in Kong's preface for offering comments and editing services.⁵ All in all, as the compiler of the *Zhouyi zhengyi*, Kong was eager to present his subcommentary of *Zhouyi zhu* as a product of a team of experts. This image of *Zhouyi zhengyi* being a collaborative project appeared to be important to Kong, because it helped to support his claim that his subcommentary was the authoritative reading of the *Yijing* in the early Tang.

Three Meanings of *Yi*

To make certain that readers had the proper perspective from which to read the *Yijing*, the *Zhouyi zhengyi* opened with Kong Yingda's seven essays on the textual history and commentarial tradition of the *Yijing*. Before readers began to read the *Yijing*, they were asked to ponder several key textual and commentarial questions associated with the classic: What does *Yi* of *Yijing* mean? Who was the one transforming the eight trigrams into the sixty-four hexagrams? What were the titles of the *Yijing* in ancient antiquity? Who was the author of the hexagram statements and the line statements? Why is the main body of the *Yijing*, which contains the sixty-four hexagrams, divided into

two halves? Did Confucius write the Ten Wings? Who was involved in transmitting the *Yijing*? Who added the term “classic” (*jing*) to the *Yijing* to signify its canonical status?

In giving short and clear answers to these seven questions, Kong defined what the *Yijing* was about. A case in point is Kong’s essay “Yi zhi san ming” (The three names of Yi) in which he explained the meanings of *yi* of *Yijing*. Citing two Han documents, *Yiwei qianzaodu* and Zheng Xuan’s *Yijing* commentary, Kong declared that there were three meanings of *yi*—change (*bianyi*), constancy (*buyi*), and ease (*yijian*).⁶ Based on homonymy, Kong associated three different meanings to the word *yi*. At first glance, the three meanings of *yi* seem to be contradictory. How can something of a constant nature be involved in change? How can someone be at ease while undergoing drastic changes? Contradictory as they may seem, Kong used the three meanings of *yi* to call attention to three equally important components in the *Yijing*—(1) its emphasis on manifold elements and unceasing changes in the universe, (2) its description of the universe as a stable system with a fixed principle and a permanent structure, and (3) its depiction of the spontaneity and effortlessness with which changes take place in this universe. To explain *yi* as change, Kong directed readers’ attention to the change of weather in the four seasons and the change of power in government. To explain *yi* as constancy, he referred to the fixed positions of Heaven and Earth, and the hierarchy in government and society. To explain *yi* as at ease, he focused on the regularity with which natural phenomena and human affairs took place.⁷

For Kong, these three different aspects of the *Yijing* taught readers an important lesson. He noted: “The *Yijing* was written to teach a lesson. . . . It was written to decipher [the functioning of] Heaven and Earth, to give order to human relationships, and to explain the Kingly Way.”⁸ For him, trigrams and hexagrams in the *Yijing* are representations of an order, a structure, and a pattern in the universe. This natural system can be replicated in human society by establishing a proper political and social order, such as the Three Bonds (ruler and official, father and son, and husband and wife). Just as the universe is full of motion, movement, and creativity, the proper political and social order gives its people wealth, prosperity, and a good life. Similar to the regularity and spontaneity with which natural phenomena take place in the universe, the proper political and social order produces a government that rules without overt intervention, strict regulations, or a display of force.

Thus, in assigning three meanings to *yi*, Kong interpreted the *Yijing* as a classic about the art of governing. He defined its target audience as rulers—namely, emperors, government officials, and heads of households. He specified its goal as explaining the “Kingly Way” (*wang dao*); that is, the perfect political and social order based on the Confucian Three Bonds. And by drawing a parallel between the natural order and the human order, he gave the “Kingly Way” the legitimacy that it needed to be the principle of ruling.

Explaining the Kingly Way

In the *Zhouyi zhengyi*, its three interlocking parts—the *Yijing*, the *Zhouyi zhu*, and the subcommentary to the *Zhouyi zhu*—were clearly marked. A typical textual arrangement of a hexagram went like this: It began with the hexagram and line statements from the *Yijing*, and then they were followed by Wang Bi’s commentary and Kong’s subcommentary. To make certain that a reader would not confuse the classic with its commentaries, Wang’s commentary was marked with the word *zhu* (commentary) and Kong’s subcommentary, *shu* (subcommentary). In the eighteenth-century *Siku quanshu* version, the three parts of the *Zhouyi zhengyi* were even more distinctly demarcated. The *Siku* editors marked each part with a different size of Chinese characters. The biggest size was used to copy the classic, the medium size the commentary, and the smallest size the subcommentary.

There is a paradox to this clear marking of the three parts. On the surface, the order in which the three parts appear seems to indicate their relative authority. It suggests that the authority of the *Zhouyi zhengyi* lies in the *Yijing*, the classic. It reminds readers that the *Zhouyi zhu* and its subcommentary are to explain, clarify, and develop what has already been said in the classic. Their goal is to serve the function of a messenger, relating the *Yijing* to readers of their times. However, in length, the relationship of the three parts is reversed. The commentary and the subcommentary appear to be more prominent because they are much longer than the classic. Usually a brief line from the *Yijing* would inspire Wang Bi and Han Kangbo to write a few lines, and they in turn would trigger Kong Yingda to write a few pages. Reading through the *Zhouyi zhengyi* line by line, a reader is induced to pay more attention to the commentary and subcommentary than to the *Yijing*. More importantly, before adding his own comments, Kong repeats in his subcommentary everything that has already been said

in both the *Yijing* and the *Zhouyi zhu*. Appearing last and containing all information, Kong's subcommentary becomes, in effect, the summation of the three parts.

Take, for example, Kong's subcommentary on hexagram "Kun" (The Receptive, #2). Speaking of the hexagram as a passive but persevering person, the hexagram line of "Kun" employed the metaphor of a mare to describe the unyielding person, and suggested that he find friends in the direction of west and south, but not of east and north.⁹ On this line statement, Wang Bi wrote a paragraph explaining why "Kun" was referred to as a mare, and ended his paragraph with a remark on the peculiar way that "Kun" found and lost friends. Invoking the *yin-yang* reciprocity, he said that because of the person's *yin* nature, he had to leave his kin to find people of the opposite kind, preferably of *yang*.¹⁰

In the *Yijing*, *yin* and *yang* are symbols of two vital forces in the universe. On the one hand, they are opposite: *yin* being soft, submissive, and enduring; and *yang* being firm, aggressive, and swift. On the other hand, they are codependent and mutually reinforcing. Represented in a hexagram as broken lines (*yin*) and straight lines (*yang*), the two opposites form a perfect pair because each of them contains something that is lacking in the other. Hence, in the *Yijing* two *yang* lines or two *yin* lines will always cause conflicts; but one *yin* line and one *yang* line will resonate with each other, regardless of how far apart they may be. This "complementary bipolarity" of *yin* and *yang*, using the words of Andrew Plaks,¹¹ was Wang Bi's basis for explaining the friendship of "Kun." Considering "Kun" as the symbol of *yin*, he read the hexagram line as saying that, because of the complementary bipolarity of *yin* and *yang*, *yin* had to leave its own kind in the direction of east and north, in order to seek for *yang* in the direction of west and south.

Building on Wang Bi's comment, Kong Yingda went a step further to explain why "Kun" lost friends in one direction and gained friends in another. In his subcommentary, after summarizing what Wang Bi had said about the complementary bipolarity of *yin* and *yang*, Kong added that there was a hidden meaning in Wang's remark. To explain that hidden meaning, he wrote: "Speaking in terms of human affairs, it suggests that officials should leave their kin to join the government, and women should leave their homes to join their husbands' families."¹² Functioning as a conjunction, the phrase "speaking in terms of human affairs" (*yi ren shi yan zhi*) and its variant "applying to human affairs" (*si zhi yu ren shi*) appear frequently in Kong's subcommentary. As a

transitional marker, the phrase “speaking in terms of human affairs” serves as a reminder that despite all the efforts to find out the meaning of the hexagrams, the hexagram statements and the line statements, ultimately the goal of reading the *Yijing* is to understand the Kingly Way. This was true also of Kong’s expansion of Wang Bi’s remark on “Kun.” For Kong, Wang was correct in relating the friendship of “Kun” to the complementary bipolarity of *yin* and *yang*; but it was still too broad for the readers. Turning what was abstract into something concrete, Kong gave two examples to elucidate the *yin-yang* bipolarity: an official who left his kin to join the government, and a woman who left her natal home to marry her husband. After adding these two examples, Kong slightly changes the meaning of Wang Bi’s remark. Instead of being a discussion of cosmology, Wang’s remark becomes a discussion of political and social order. Rather than a general comment on the *yin-yang* bipolarity, it becomes a focused discourse on the Confucian Three Bonds.

In his subcommentary to hexagram “Mingyi” (Darkening of the light, #36), Kong, again, turned the abstract into the concrete. For instance, the hexagram statement of “Mingyi” stresses the importance of perseverance in adversity by discussing the need to look for light in darkness.¹³ In his commentary, Wang Bi does not offer any comment on this hexagram statement, implying that, he believed, the line could speak for itself. But Kong did not think so. To clarify the *Yijing* lesson in “Mingyi,” he wrote a long comment:

“Darkening of the light” is the name of the hexagram. *Yi* [of *Mingyi*] means being impaired. The hexagram image suggests that the sun is setting on the earth. This is a symbol of “Darkening of the light.” Applying [this] to human affairs, it is an obscure king in the high place and a brilliant official in the low position. [The brilliant official] dares not show his talents and intelligence. [As such,] this is another meaning of “Darkening of the light.” Although it is a time of utmost obscurity, one cannot follow the trend and bend on one side. Therefore, it is appropriate for [the brilliant official] to bear with difficulties and to remain firm [on his principles], abiding his upright virtue. Hence, in time of “Darkening of the light,” it furthers one to be persevering.¹⁴

In his comment, Kong transforms the hexagram statement from a general discussion of the “darkening of the light” into a focused discourse on political order. The transformation involves two steps. First, Kong equates the “darkening of the light” to sunset, turning the hexagram

statement into a description of nature. Then, he draws a parallel between sunset and a brilliant official persevering under a corrupt king. The parallel appears to be important to Kong because it allows him to inject a political message into the hexagram line. Taking sunset as the symbol of a government ruled by a corrupt king, Kong ponders what a brilliant official would and could do under such circumstances. Even though the brilliant official is more capable of governing than the corrupt king, Kong does not think the brilliant official should take over the government or topple the dynasty, for fear of discrediting the political system and violating the ruler-official relationship of the Confucian Three Bonds. Instead, Kong recommends prudence. He urges the brilliant official to hide his discontentment and carry out his usual duties as an official. Stressing the importance of perseverance—the main theme of “Mingyi”—he interprets the hexagram as an occasion when the loyalty of an official is tested. To uphold the Kingly Way at all costs, Kong sees no other option for the brilliant official except to endure the corrupt king until a new king replaces him.

Subjects' Obedience to the King

In the history of *Yijing* commentaries, Kong Yingda was not the first exegete to read the classic as a discourse on political and social order. Wang Bi had earlier inserted political and social discussions into his commentary on the sixty-four hexagrams. This observation may cause alarm to some readers, because Wang Bi is widely known as a Neo-Daoist who championed “the study of the dark” (*xuanxue*). From Feng Youlan and Tang Yongtong in China to Wing-tsit Chan and Alan Chan in the West, Wang Bi is presented as the Chinese philosopher par excellence who offers deep insights into the nature of the universe.¹⁵ That image of Wang Bi may be correct if one focuses on his writings on the *Laozi*, particularly his *Laozi* commentary, *Laozi zhu*. But it is a different story if one looks at Wang Bi's commentary to the *Yijing*. As Edward Shaughnessy points out, there are many discussions of politics and social cohesion in Wang Bi's *Yijing* commentary, including such topics as the process of a change of power and the need for a strong central government.¹⁶ These discussions—often intermixed with or cloaked in meditations on metaphysics—show that Wang considered the *Yijing* as a classic with a political and social vision.

Yet, given the pressing need in the early Tang for creating a unifying political ideology, Kong Yingda had more reasons than Wang

Bi to render the *Yijing* into a political text. Take, for example, Kong's subcommentary on the hexagram "Guan" (Viewing, #20). Speaking of a ceremony involving an offering, the hexagram statement of "Guan" describes the solemn atmosphere that captivates the spectators.¹⁷ Like many other hexagram statements, the hexagram statement of "Guan" is brief and enigmatic. We know the statement refers to a ceremony that requires an offering. But we do not know the intent of that ceremony. Is it for a deity? Is it for an ancestor? Is it to seek blessing for a military campaign? Nor is it clear why the people are filled with trust and a solemn attitude after viewing the ceremony. Who are those people? How are they filled with trust and a solemn attitude by viewing the ceremony? With so many gaps, Wang Bi has plenty of room to read this hexagram statement as a discussion of political order. He identifies the viewing as the witnessing of the performance of the ancestral temple sacrifice, one of the most solemn ceremonies conducted by a king.¹⁸ As a political act, a king offers sacrifice to his ancestors in front of his people to show that his legitimacy as a king comes from his forebears. In this public performance, a king affirms his superiority over his subjects, and reinforces the existing political and social hierarchy. In Wang Bi's comment, these political functions of the ancestral temple sacrifice are skillfully injected into the hexagram line. First, the "viewing" is defined as what one would see at an ancestral temple sacrifice: the offering and the ablution. Second, the ancestral temple sacrifice is carried out in a frugal way, leaving not much to be seen except the ablution. Hence, in keeping with the Confucian tradition, the king practices the "Kingly Way" by focusing on the symbolism of the ritual rather than indulging himself in extravagance. Third, because the king has shown the "Kingly Way" in carrying out the ancestral temple sacrifice, he achieves his goal of morally transforming his people. Those who have witnessed the sacrifice receive reassurance that the government is in good order, and feel blessed by being a member of the moral community.

Turning to Kong Yingda's subcommentary on "Guan," we see that the political functions of an ancestral temple sacrifice are even clearer. After reiterating what Wang Bi has said regarding the viewing of an ancestral temple sacrifice, Kong focuses on the purpose of having such an ancestral temple sacrifice. He says, "Having witnessed the elaborate rituals of the ancestral temple sacrifice, the people in the audience are transformed. . . . They are transformed after viewing the sacrifice because the king on stage has given them a model to follow."¹⁹ In Wang Bi's comment, the superiority of the ruler over his people is

implicit; it is mentioned in reference to his role as a political leader and a moral teacher. In Kong's comment, the king's superiority over his people becomes explicit. First, the difference in their social status is highlighted: the king is on stage and the people are in the audience. Second, the duty of the people to "model after" (*xiao*) the king is stressed to indicate the need for them to obey the king's order. Besides being a public event in which the king performs his function as the moral teacher, the ancestral temple sacrifice in Kong's eyes is an occasion when the hierarchy of government and society is on public display.

Similarly Kong Yingda expands on Wang Bi's political message in interpreting the hexagram "Wuwang" (No Errancy, #25). Discussing agriculture, the line statement of the second line of "Wuwang" exhorts farmers to work hard in the field without concerning themselves too much about the results.²⁰ Yet, in commenting on this line, Wang Bi thinks that the line statement is as much about government as about agriculture. By drawing a parallel between a hardworking farmer and a supportive official, Wang Bi uses the line statement to discuss the "Way of the Minister" (*chen dao*).²¹ Although in his commentary Wang says very little about what the "Way of the Minister" means, it is clear that in the example of a hardworking farmer, he has in mind a selfless official who goes out of his way to work for the ruler without claiming any credit for himself.

Turning to Kong Yingda's subcommentary, we find a detailed discussion of the "Way of the Minister." With ample examples, Kong offers specific advice as to how to be a model official:

Line Two, which is *yin*, is located in the middle [of the lower trigram]. It [symbolizes an official who] practices the Way of the Minister by not making the first move, but by concentrating on finishing his assignments. What he does is similar to a farmer who cultivates a field without concerning himself with reaping, and works on mature land with no plan for developing new fields. Like a farmer who pays more attention to finishing a task than to initiating a new job, an official who practices "the Way of the Minister" should refrain from suggesting changes in policy and focus on helping the king to implement his plans.²²

Building on Wang Bi's brief remark on the "Way of the Minister," Kong Yingda explains what an official should do in order to be a model administrator. Using the example of a hardworking farmer, he gives the official two suggestions. First, he should never involve himself in policy decisions, instead giving the king the absolute power to govern.

Second, he should focus on the execution of policy, helping the king to implement whatever measures he thinks necessary. Again, in offering concrete examples to elucidate Wang Bi's remark, Kong slightly changes its meaning. For Kong, in practicing the "Way of the Minister," it is not enough for the officials to be selfless; they have to be submissive. Not only do they need to refrain from claiming credit for their work, they should also follow the king's orders strictly. Thus, as in his comments on "Guan," Kong stresses in his comments on "Wuwang" the superiority of the ruler over his subjects. Whereas in his reading of "Guan" he focuses on the superiority of the king over his people, in "Wuwang" he concentrates on the superiority of the king over his officials. In these two hexagrams, he shows the range of the king's power. As a ruler, the king not only possesses absolute authority over his subjects, he also commands absolute obedience from his officials.

Circumspection and Moderation

For Wang Bi and Kong Yingda, the "Way of the Minister" was as much about politics as about ethics. In their minds, the way that a submissive official conducted himself in government—knowing his position in the political system, following orders from his superiors, acting strictly in accordance with his assigned duties, and adjusting to situations—would be the same as a moral person conducted himself in daily life. Despite the differences in the public and private spheres, there was one thread that tied the two together, namely, circumspection and moderation. The two commentators made this point crystal clear in their commentaries on the hexagrams "Jiji" (Completion, #63) and "Weiji" (Incompletion, #64).

In general, in the *Zhouyi zhu*, Wang Bi reads each hexagram as an independent unit describing one specific situation. But on a few occasions, he breaks his own rules by linking a hexagram with its neighboring hexagram to form a pair. The pairs of hexagrams that he links together include "Qian" (The Creative, #1) and "Kun" (The Receptive, #2),²³ "Tai" (Peace, #11) and "Pi" (Standstill, #12),²⁴ "Ge" (Revolution, #49) and "Ding" (The Caldron, #50),²⁵ and "Jiji" and "Weiji." Among these pairs of hexagrams, Wang Bi's attempt to link "Jiji" with "Weiji" is particularly significant because of their position among the sixty-four hexagrams. Being the last two hexagrams of the sixty-four, many readers may ask why "Weiji" (Incompletion) follows "Jiji" (Completion), rather than the other way around. If indeed completing the task

at hand is the key issue in the *Yijing*, then “Jiji” should follow “Weiji.” With “Jiji” at the end, the sixty-four hexagrams achieve closure. It suggests that if not now, at least in the distant future, all the problems in this world will be resolved. With “Weiji” at the end, however, the sixty-four hexagrams become open-ended. As the complete act in “Jiji” turns into an incomplete act in “Weiji,” it appears that there is no perfection on earth; what is at one point a perfect state will quickly become imperfect at another moment.

To explain why the sixty-four hexagrams end with “Weiji,” Wang Bi adopts a two-pronged approach. First, he links “Jiji” and “Weiji” together such that they form a single unit, reaffirming the need for constant adjustment. He does it by pointing out the various ways that the one hexagram invokes the other. For instance, when commenting on the sixth line statement of “Jiji,” Wang Bi stresses the interrelationship between “Jiji” and “Weiji.” The line statement describes a person who, although at the apex in the state of completion, is in danger of submerging his head in the water.²⁶ In his comment, Wang Bi acknowledges that on the surface “Jiji” and “Weiji” are indeed two totally different situations—one is completion and the other incompleteness. But at a deeper level, he argues, they are actually the two poles of the same continuum. When one reaches the end of completion, such as in the case of the sixth line of “Jiji,” one arrives at the beginning of incompleteness; when one reaches the end of incompleteness, such as the sixth line of “Weiji,” one arrives at the beginning of completion. This continuum points to the need for human beings to constantly respond to their surroundings.²⁷

In addition to linking the hexagrams, Wang Bi gives a positive tone to “Weiji.” Commenting on the *Tuan* statement of “Weiji,”²⁸ he suggests that there are two meanings to the hexagram. On the one hand, judging from its line positions, “Weiji” is indeed a dreadful condition: all of its *yang* positions (first, third, and fifth) are occupied by *yin* lines, and all of its *yin* positions (second, fourth, and sixth) are occupied by *yang* lines (see the hexagram image of “Weiji” in Appendix II). Being in the wrong positions, all of the six lines have difficulty fully realizing their potential. At the same time, although all the positions of “Weiji” are in the wrong order, the lines correspond with one another because of their *yin-yang* nature: the *yin* lines at the first and third positions correspond respectively with the *yang* lines at the fourth and sixth positions, and the *yang* line at the second position corresponds with the *yin* line at the fifth position. Because

of these *yin-yang* correspondences among the six lines, Wang Bi finds immanent vitality in “Weiji.” He believes that once this immanent vitality is activated and realized after a reordering of their positions, “Weiji” will be on its way to completion. For this reason, he thinks that “Weiji” can also mean *keji*, the potential for completion.²⁹ By adding these changes to “Jiji” and “Weiji,” Wang Bi transformed the apparently inconclusive ending of the sixty-four hexagrams into a lesson on adjusting to changing environments. He argued that, by appearing to be open-ended, “Jiji” and “Weiji” not only underscored the fluidity and contingency of life, but also forced readers to reflect upon their own precarious situations. As completion quickly becomes incompleteness and vice versa, readers have to learn to be circumspect and moderate in order to come to terms with changes.³⁰

Turning to Kong Yingda’s subcommentary, its main thrust was to summarize Wang Bi’s argument on the relationship between “Jiji” and “Weiji.” But as in his other subcommentaries, his summary here was both a restatement and an embellishment. In restating Wang Bi’s remarks, Kong summarized Wang’s main points at the beginning of each hexagram. That way, readers would have a clear idea of what Wang wanted to say before they went on to read Wang’s commentary. The prime example of Kong’s embellishment of Wang’s remarks is his subcommentary on “Weiji.” Building on Wang Bi’s argument that “Weiji” means both negatively as incompleteness and positively as potential for completion, Kong ponders whether there can be a third meaning of “Weiji.” He raises this possibility in his commentary on the *Tuan* statement of “Weiji”:

When we speak of something being incomplete, we mean that the task is not completed today, but that there are ways to complete it later. With respect to the six lines of “Weiji,” they are not in their proper positions and consequently they cannot finish their assignments. However, since they resonate with one another because of their firm and soft nature, they are full of potential. In recognition of their potential to finish their work, the hexagram is called “In-completion” rather than “Completion.”³¹

Building on what Wang Bi has said about the two meanings of “Weiji,” Kong stresses in his subcommentary the potential for completion in “Weiji.” But to fully comprehend the meaning of “Weiji,” he adds that one should also consider what has been ruled out in the hexagram name. He argues that in recognition of the potential of the six lines of “Weiji,”

the author of the *Yijing* has decided to call it *weiji* (incompletion) rather than *buji* (without the means to complete the task). That decision, in Kong's view, underscores once again the paramount importance of having a perfect order. It is because while "Weiji" is full of potential, a great deal of work needs to be done to correct the positions of the six lines, and to make them work as a team. Harking back to the theme that he stresses throughout his subcommentary, he considers building a perfect order as the first item on the ruler's agenda.

Reversion to Wu

In the current scholarship on Neo-Daoism, much has been said about how "the study of the dark" (*xuanxue*) from the third to the fifth centuries was built on a pair of concepts, *you* and *wu*, and how Wang Bi was among the first to use the pair of concepts to discuss the nature of the universe. Commonly rendered into English as Being and Non-Being, *you* and *wu* denote two levels of existence.³² *You* (Being) refers to the visible, tangible, and sensible world that we experience everyday. *Wu* (Non-Being) describes the web of relationships that connects everything of this world into a system. For this reason, Tang Yongtong and Feng Youlan have pointed out that *wu* does not mean nothing exists (*wuyou*); rather, it means the invisible (*wuxing*) and ineffable (*wuming*) web of relationships that binds everything together in this universe.³³ The two levels of existence that *you* and *wu* describe are distinct and yet related. They are distinct in the sense that one has form and shape, and the other does not; one is discrete part, and the other is the whole. They are related because they are joined together as substance (*ben*) and function (*mo*). As the whole, *wu* is that which gives rise to *you*; it is the totality of all the discrete parts of the universe. As discrete part, *you* allows *wu* to manifest in form and shape: it is an occasion when the web of relationships in this universe becomes visible, tangible, and sensible.

Contrary to the general impression that Wang Bi was a major figure in the "study of the deep," he seldom made reference to *you* and *wu* in his *Yijing* commentary. In fact, the only place in his *Yijing* commentary where he discussed *wu* is his commentary on the hexagram "Fu" (Return, #24). As a hexagram, "Fu" consists of one *yang* line at the bottom and five *yin* lines at the top. The hexagram is commonly considered a symbol of reversion—the gradual return of the *yang* force while the *yin* force is still dominant. Yet, in commenting on the *Tuan*

statement of the hexagram,³⁴ Wang Bi appears to have a different view of “Fu.” First, he defines “Fu” (to return) as “to revert to the original substance.”³⁵ This reading suggests that Wang was more concerned about the substance-function relationship of *you* and *wu* than the ebb and flow of *yin* and *yang*. Although in his commentary Wang did not explicitly compare *you* with *wu*, the contrast between the visible and invisible world, part and whole, and events and system was apparent. He introduced the two levels of existence through a series of contrasting pairs—activity versus tranquility, speech versus silence, movement versus quiescence. These contrasting pairs indicate that beyond the discrete objects in the phenomenal world, there is a totality that binds everything together. In the former, one is dazzled by changes; in the latter, one finds peace in the principle of change. In the former, each object is separate; in the latter, everything is connected through a web of relationships. For Wang Bi, from a human perspective, the reversion in “Fu” has to be understood as a broadening of one’s horizons. Instead of focusing narrowly on immediate surroundings, one should visualize the complex web of relationships that binds everything together in this universe.

Although Wang Bi discusses *you* and *wu* only in his commentary on “Fu,” in Kong Yingda’s time this pair of concepts was deemed essential to interpreting the *Yijing*. This perception was mainly due to the fact that *you* and *wu* appeared frequently in Han Kangbo’s commentary on the *Xici*. Accepted in the early Tang as a faithful summary of Wang Bi’s views on the *Yijing*, Han’s commentary made the reversion of *you* to *wu* the main theme of *Xici*. Take, for example, Han Kangbo’s commentary on the *Xici* statement, “That which has a *yin* and a *yang* is called the Way” (*yi yin yi yang zhi wei dao*).³⁶ Despite its overt reference to *yin* and *yang*, Han reads the line as a plea for reverting from *you* to *wu*. In his comment, he equates the Way (*Dao*) with *wu*, making certain that the *Xici* statement is a discussion about *wu*.³⁷ Then, he argues that “a *yin* and a *yang*” (*yi yin yi yang*) in the *Xici* statement have nothing to do with number. They do not mean that numerically there is a single *yin* and a single *yang* in this universe. Instead, they refer to the complex relationship between *you* and *wu*. The key to Han’s argument lies in the meaning of *yi* (solitary) in “*yi yin yi yang*.” With *yi* standing for *wu*, he argues that *yi yin* means the *yin* state of *wu* or *wuyin*, and *yi yang* the *yang* state of *wu* or *wuyang*. Whether in *yin* state or *yang* state, the same *wu* makes its presence known. Presumptuous as it may seem, Han’s commentary underscores the importance of reverting

from visible and sensible events to the invisible principle of change. He reminds his readers that *wu*, the totality of the universe, is not only omnipresent, but also takes different (sometimes even contradictory) forms to make its presence known.

Similarly, Han Kangbo renders the *Xici* statement, "In expanding the numbers, the total is fifty; of these, forty-nine are used,"³⁸ into a discussion of reverting from *you* to *wu*. This *Xici* statement appears at the beginning of a long paragraph discussing the procedure for throwing the yarrow stalks to come up with hexagrams for divination. Claiming that he is stating what Wang Bi would have said on this line, Han turns this line into a plea for the reversion of *you* to *wu*.³⁹ First, he takes the one unused number (or stalk) to mean *wu*, and the forty-nine used numbers (or stalks) to mean *you*. On the one hand, he stresses that *you* depends on *wu* for its existence, just like the forty-nine used numbers become useful only when they function in a mathematical system. On the other hand, he emphasizes that *wu* cannot fulfill itself without *you*, just as the merits of a mathematical system have to be manifested through the computation of numbers. Abstract as it may seem, Han's comment underscores the part-whole relationship between *you* (events) and *wu* (system).⁴⁰ As parts, discrete events make the system alive. As the whole, the system gives unity and coherence to discrete events.

Political Implications of you and wu

In general, in his subcommentary, Kong Yingda followed strictly what Wang Bi and Han Kangbo had said about the reversion of *you* to *wu*. Yet, in this particular case of Han's reading of the unused yarrow stalk, Kong appears to have had reservations. In his comment on the same *Xici* line, Kong mentioned that there were many schools of thought on how to compute yarrow stalks, and there was no definitive reading of this *Xici* line. However, based on the fact that "Han Kangbo had been a follower of Wang Bi and he was faithful in summarizing Wang's views," he accepted Han's interpretation as given and restated it in his subcommentary as Wang Bi's view.⁴¹ Kong's position on the unused yarrow stalk reflected his overall position on the *Zhouyi zhu*. That is, he took the *Zhouyi zhu* as the authoritative reading of the *Yijing* and refrained from pointing out its mistakes even if he felt they were apparent.

Although Kong Yingda might have had reservations about Han Kangbo's reading of the unused yarrow stalk, he supported the reversion of *you* to *wu*. Just as he did in other parts of his subcommentary where he restated Wang Bi's views to make his points, in his subcommentary to the *Xici* he also embellished Han Kangbo's commentary to express his views. A case in point is his comments on Han's reading of "That which has a *yin* and a *yang* is called the Way." As discussed earlier, Han reads the *Xici* statement as a plea for reverting from *you* to *wu*. In his subcommentary, after restating Han's interpretation, Kong introduces a new issue: unpremeditated action (*wuwei*). He writes:

In saying that "only when the functioning of *you* reaches its peak, the merits of *wu* become manifest," [Han Kangbo] refers to the natural phenomena of blowing wind and falling rain. Wind blows and rain falls without a premeditated plan. Yet, the ten thousand things grow and bloom because of them. Thus, from this example of blowing wind and falling rain completing their functions without premeditation, we understand why when the function of *you* reaches its peak, the merits of *wu* become manifest.⁴²

Abstract as it may seem, Kong Yingda's discussion of unpremeditated action harks back to the theme he stressed throughout his subcommentary; that is, building a proper order should be the first item on the ruler's agenda. In his attempt to explain how the merits of *wu* become manifest through *you*, he emphasizes that under a perfect system, such as the one that regulates nature, things will happen spontaneously and effortlessly. Each part does not need to know the reason for its specific function. What it does will bring benefits automatically to other members in the system, and in turn it will be rewarded for what it does.

Whereas Kong Yingda was not always explicit about what "the proper order" meant in commenting on the *Xici*, Xing Shu was unequivocal in associating "the proper order" with a powerful central government headed by an absolute king. In his subcommentary to Wang Bi's *Zhouyi lüeli*, Xing Shu's goal was to explicate the political implications in the discussion of *you* and *wu*. In order to make his point, sometimes he would inject ideas that might be foreign to Wang Bi. Take, for instance, his commentary on Wang Bi's first essay "Ming tuan" (On the *Tuan* Statements). If read independently, Wang Bi's essay is about how to understand the *Yijing* by reading its *Tuan* statements. In the received *Yijing* text, there is a *Tuan* statement accompanying

each hexagram. It appears to Wang Bi that the function of each *Tuan* statement is to point out the characteristics of the hexagram that it accompanies.⁴³ In his commentary, Xing Shu took Wang Bi's remarks in a completely different direction. He believed that besides teaching readers how to understand hexagrams through reading the *Tuan* statements, implicitly Wang Bi was discussing a political system as well. To support his view, Xing Shu explained:

The reason why things do not err is that they have a ruler. When there is a leader to set priorities and a ruler to coordinate things, things become orderly even if they are complex, and people have no doubt in their minds even if their numbers are huge. . . . The One that practices unpremeditated action is the Way [*Dao*] or the king. Although the ten thousand things may all be different, the unfathomable Way regulates and coordinates them into one body. Although the people may be numerous, the king gives them a clear direction.⁴⁴

Drawing a parallel between understanding the multifaceted dimensions of the *Yijing* through reading the *Tuan* statements and keeping order in the kingdom with a powerful central figure, Xing Shu interpreted Wang Bi's remark as a plea for founding a strong central government that would regulate and coordinate all aspects of its people's lives. Despite its overt political message, Xing Shu's comment would not come as a surprise to seventh-century readers of the *Zhouyi zhengyi*. From Kong's opening essays to his subcommentary on Wang Bi's and Han Kangbo's commentaries, the main theme of the *Zhouyi zhengyi* had been the absolute power of the king. The ways by which the discussion was conducted might differ, ranging from a discussion of a king practicing the "Kingly Way" to a snapshot of how a king would formalize his relationships with his subjects. Nevertheless, the *Zhouyi zhengyi* was consistent in supporting a powerful central government headed by an absolute king. With that in mind, what Xing Shu did here was simply to give a sharper focus to Kong's attempt at rendering the *Yijing* into a political text.

Two Images of Wang Bi in the Northern Song

As a testimony to Kong Yingda's success in turning the *Yijing* into a political text, centuries later, many Northern Song commentators continued to read the *Yijing* as a classic about the art of governing. Despite the elapse of time and the changes in political climate, many

Northern Song commentators still read the *Yijing* for new ideas to improve their political and social system. In reading the *Yijing* through the lens of the *Zhouyi zhengyi*, they paid special attention to what Wang Bi had said on the classic. From Wang Yucheng (954–1001) in the early Northern Song to Cheng Yi in the late Northern Song, the main issue for many Northern Song *Yijing* commentators was how to go beyond Wang Bi's reading of the classic.⁴⁵ These attentions thrust upon Wang Bi were in part a result of Kong Yingda's success in promoting him as "the best commentator on the *Yijing*." Being the accepted author of the *Zhouyi zhu*—the basis upon which Kong Yingda wrote his subcommentary—Wang Bi symbolized to many Northern Song commentators the authority of the received *Yijing* commentarial tradition. To affirm or to oppose the received commentarial tradition, the Northern Song commentators felt that they had to come to terms with Wang Bi.

There was a wide range of responses to Wang Bi in the Northern Song. For some exegetes, like Su Shi, they thought their main task was to further explicate Wang Bi's reading and make it directly relevant to the eleventh century.⁴⁶ They wrote commentaries modeled after him and whenever possible cited him as their authority. For others, such as Wang Yucheng and Sima Guang, they accepted the *Zhouyi zhu* as the authoritative commentary to the *Yijing*, but they looked for ways to improve upon it.⁴⁷ They pointed out areas in which Wang Bi had misread the *Yijing* and offered their alternative readings. For yet others, such as Zhang Zai, they were determined to replace the *Zhouyi zhu* with a completely new reading of the *Yijing*. They criticized Wang Bi and Han Kangbo for misleading generations of *Yijing* commentators, and saw themselves as the true interpreters of the *Yijing*.⁴⁸

These differing responses to Wang Bi were, to a great extent, a result of how he was presented in the *Zhouyi zhengyi*. Underlying these differing responses were two conflicting images of Wang Bi that Kong Yingda presented in his subcommentary. On the one hand, there was an image of him as a philosopher, who offered profound insights into the nature of the universe but had little interest in human affairs. The supporters of this image of Wang Bi found evidence in his *you-wu* discussion in hexagram "Fu," the summary of his views in Han Kangbo's commentary on the *Xici*, and his six essays in the *Zhouyi lüeli*. In the Northern Song, Su Shi was the main force in promoting this image of Wang Bi. In his commentary to the *Yijing*, *Dongpo yizhuan* (Comments on the *Yi* [by a person from] the Eastern Slope), Su Shi expanded on Wang Bi's discussion of the reversion from *you* to *wu*. He focused

on the meaning of “the One,” “the Source,” and “the Way”—concepts that were made prominent by Wang Bi. This image of Wang Bi as a philosopher was so widespread in the eleventh century that even some critics of Wang Bi, like Sima Guang, took it for granted.⁴⁹

In sharp contrast to Wang Bi the philosopher, there was also an image of him as a political and moral thinker, who was deeply concerned with improving the political and social system. Like supporters of the other image, supporters of this image easily found evidence in the *Zhouyi zhengyi*. To support their view, they could point to Wang Bi's frequent political discussions in his commentary on the sixty-four hexagrams, Kong Yingda's elaboration on some of Wang Bi's remarks, and Xing Shu's explication of his essays in *Zhouyi lüeli*. Li Gou, for one, saw Wang Bi this way. In condemning what he considered to be unorthodox methods of interpreting the *Yijing* based on diagrams and numerology (which apparently had become a popular trend at his time), Li Gou suggested that scholars should follow in Wang Bi's footsteps to render the *Yijing* for “the urgent needs of Heaven and Earth and the dynasty” (*ji hu tianxia guojia zhiyong*).⁵⁰ A similar view is found in Cheng Yi. Widely known for his moral and political reading of the *Yijing*, he urged his students to read Wang Bi's commentary to develop a “true understanding” of the *Yijing*.⁵¹

Dissimilar as they were, these images of Wang Bi reveal to us the parameters for the *Yijing* discourse in the Northern Song. It appears that in rendering the *Yijing* anew, the eleventh-century exegetes were looking for answers to four questions: What is the relationship between the natural world and the human world? What role does an individual play in the natural and human system? What practical implications will answers to the previous two questions have on improving the political and social order? What should the educated elite do in leading the political and social transformation? Certainly, these four questions are not new in Chinese thought and some of them are foundational to Daoism and Confucianism. But what is new about them is that they were raised in conjunction with an image of Wang Bi and a reading of the *Zhouyi zhengyi*. For those who were interested in the first two questions, they looked to Wang Bi the philosopher for answers. They concentrated on those parts of the *Zhouyi zhengyi* that discussed the reversion of *you* to *wu*. For those whose primary concerns were the last two questions, they sought inspiration from Wang Bi the moral and political thinker. They focused their attention on those parts of the *Zhouyi zhengyi* that discussed the need for a central government

headed by an absolute king. To a great extent, this debate on Wang Bi can be seen as, using Hans-Georg Gadamer's terms, a "fusion of horizons" of the past and the present.⁵² On the one hand, it grew out of a reading of the *Zhouyi zhengyi*, the authoritative *Yijing* commentary of the Tang. On the other hand, it gave expression to a new historical context that allowed the Northern Song commentators to demand active participation in ordering the world. In the next three chapters, we will see how the Northern Song exegetes addressed questions of the past and the present in interpreting the *Yijing*.

3

Mission of Civil Bureaucrats: The Yijing of Hu Yuan, Li Gou, and Ouyang Xiu

[A superior man] begins with himself and extends his virtue to the people. Therefore, he never worries about himself, he worries about the world; he never rejoices for himself, he rejoices for the world.

—Hu Yuan, *Zhouyi kouyi*

For many of his biographers, Hu Yuan was a forerunner of the Cheng-Zhu school of *Daoxue*, worthy to be called a “master of the early Northern Song.”¹ He is best known for being Cheng Yi’s teacher at the Imperial Academy in Kaifeng, showing his brilliant student how to pursue true Confucian learning.² Also, he is described as a man of action, who made significant contributions in reforming the school system and the court musical instruments.³ Despite these high honors, however, he is not considered to be a man of thought, having profound insights on matters that concerned the Northern Song educated elite. But if we pay closer attention to his classical commentary, we will have a different picture of him. There, we will find him a serious thinker—not the *Daoxue* moralist of the sort that Zhu Xi and Wang Yangming came to personify, but a self-motivated scholar who offered critical opinions on current affairs and insightful suggestions on governing.⁴

This image of Hu Yuan as a serious thinker is particularly clear in his commentary on the *Yijing*, the *Zhouyi kouyi* (The orally transmitted meanings of the *Yi* from the Zhou [Dynasty]). His longest piece of writing that has survived, the *Zhouyi kouyi* shows evidence of him as a sophisticated classicist who made the ancient classic speak to his eleventh-century readers.⁵ It reveals his skills in taking part in political and philosophical debates by offering a new interpretation of the

Yijing. A prime example of his skills as an exegete was his decision to challenge the official Northern Song *Yijing* commentary, the *Zhouyi zhengyi* of Kong Yingda. In his attempt to expunge the militarism of late Tang and the Five Dynasties Period, he identified the *Zhouyi zhengyi* as the textual legitimization of what he considered erroneous practices during those two periods. By attempting to set the *Yijing* free from Tang influences, he expressed the desire of the first generation of the Northern Song educated elite to part ways with the past. In this chapter, we will examine Hu's *Zhouyi kouyi* as a formulation of the civil bureaucrats' mission to order the world. At the end of the chapter, we will contextualize his views by comparing his commentary with those of Li Gou and Ouyang Xiu.

A Biography of Hu Yuan

Hu Yuan was born into a poor scholar family in Taizhou (in present-day Jiangsu) in 993. Both Hu's grandfather and father managed to secure only low-level administrative posts at local prefectures. As a child, Hu was known as a prodigy. He was proficient in writing by the age of seven and mastered the Five Classics by the age of thirteen.⁶ Despite his talents, however, he failed to pass the civil service examinations—a stigma that he had to carry throughout his life.⁷

Following a popular practice of the time, upon reaching adulthood Hu left his family for Mount Tai (present-day Shandong) for further learning. For ten years, he hid on the mountain like a recluse and studied the Confucian classics with his two friends Sun Fu and Shi Jie (1005–1045). According to one account, he was so absorbed in his study on Mount Tai that he even threw all of his family letters into a stream after spotting the words “peaceful and contented” (*ping'an*) on them.⁸ Hu's behavior, usually considered un-Confucian under normal circumstances, is remembered as a sign of his dedication to Confucian learning, which was apparently in decline at that time. During these ten years, usually regarded as the pivotal period of Hu's life, he developed his own understanding of the Confucian classics. Not only did he have confidence in Confucian learning, he also strongly believed that it needed to be applied in ordering the world.

Hu worked for a while as a private teacher in the Zhejiang area before being invited in 1035 by Fan Zhongyan to teach in the Suzhou Prefectural School. It was in Suzhou that he first earned fame as a strict teacher who enforced the school rules and demanded total dedication to learning from his students.⁹ In 1042, he was invited to

teach in the Huzhou Prefectural School (near Suzhou). In Huzhou, he initiated his famous method of dividing students into the “chamber of classical studies” (*jingyi zhai*) and the “chamber of administrative skills” (*zhishi zhai*).¹⁰ In the former, students were required to develop their own views on the Confucian classics; in the latter, students were given special training in practical skills like public policy, national defense, and irrigation. His method of teaching, combining classical scholarship with training in governing, attracted the attention of Fan Zhongyan. Upon Fan’s recommendation, his method was adopted by the newly established Imperial Academy (*taixue*) at Kaifeng in 1044.¹¹ Some contemporary historians, such as Qian Mu, consider the partnership between Fan and Hu Yuan as an important sign of change in the intellectual milieu of early Northern Song. Although Fan made his mark in history as a political reformer and Hu as an educator, the two were committed to applying Confucian learning in ordering the world. They were part of the revival of Confucianism in the early Northern Song that motivated the educated elite to actively participate in governing.¹²

Though Hu Yuan’s teaching method was adopted by the Imperial Academy, for eight years Hu did not have a chance to attend to its implementation. Between 1044 and 1052, he was commissioned by the government to revise the musical system for the court.¹³ He helped to prescribe a set of measurements for casting bronze bells, although many of these were later proven to be ineffective.¹⁴ It was in 1052 that he was offered a professorship at the prestigious Imperial Academy, reaching the apex of his career as a teacher. But being a former failed candidate of the civil service examinations, his early days at the Imperial Academy were by no means easy. He was constantly challenged and, in many instances, despised. It was not until he had delivered a series of brilliant lectures on the *Yijing* that he gained respect as a well-learned scholar.¹⁵ Our received text of the *Zhouyi kouyi* may be notes from these lectures compiled by his student, Ni Tianyin.¹⁶ From then on, students from all corners of the country competed to enroll in the Imperial Academy to study under him. Consequently, the Imperial Academy was transformed from a preparation school for entering into the bureaucracy to a center of high learning. At one point, the student population grew so rapidly that the Imperial Academy had to enlarge its size by acquiring a nearby military base. Because of his contribution to transforming the Imperial Academy, his contemporaries remembered him as the teacher par excellence.¹⁷

A Critique of Kong Yingda

Like Kong Yingda in his *Zhouyi zhengyi*, Hu Yuan opened his *Zhouyi kouyi* with a discussion of the nature of the *Yijing*. In the preface (*fati*) to the *Zhouyi kouyi*, Hu devoted considerable length to discussing the meaning of the word *yi* of the *Yijing*. Being a classic with multiple layers, the true nature of the *Yijing* had long been a subject of dispute among classical scholars before the eleventh century.¹⁸ As discussed earlier, both Wang Bi and Kong Yingda had to deal with this question in their commentaries. For Wang Bi, he tackled the question by writing six essays, collectively known as *Zhouyi lüeli*, to discuss how the hexagrams and the *Tuan* statements should be read. For Kong Yingda, he addressed the question by writing seven essays to explain the textual history and the commentarial tradition of the *Yijing*. In one of those essays, entitled “Yi zhi san ming” (The three names of *yi*), Kong focused specifically on the meaning of the word *yi*. Hence, in defining the meaning of the word *yi* of the *Yijing*, Hu Yuan appears to have had two goals in mind: first, to put an end to the controversy of what the word *yi* of *Yijing* meant; second, to challenge previous commentators, particularly Kong Yingda, on their understanding of the *Yijing*.

Contrary to Kong Yingda who argued that there were three meanings of the word *yi*, Hu Yuan believed that *yi* only had one meaning. He began his preface as follows:

The Way of changes is the principle of Heaven and Humankind. Speaking of changes in terms of the Way of Heaven, they are the completion of the ten thousand things due to the changes of the *yin* and the *yang*; they are the succession of the four seasons due to the changes of the hot weather and the cold weather; they are the appearance of day and night due to the changes in the position of the sun and the moon. Speaking of changes in terms of the Way of Humankind, they are the fortunes and misfortunes due to changes in gains and losses [in one's activity]; they are the comforts and discomforts due to the changes in man's sincerity; they are the orders and disorders due to the changes [in the relative power] of superior men and inferior men [in the government].¹⁹

Seemingly straightforward, Hu's interpretation of *yi* was in sharp contrast to Kong Yingda's. As discussed in the last chapter, a main theme of Kong Yingda's *Zhouyi zhengyi* was the reversion from mundane daily events (*you*) to the invisible web of relationships in the universe

(*wu*). To underscore this reversion, Kong Yingda argued that the word *yi* of *Yijing* had three meanings: change, constancy, and ease. By giving these three meanings to the word *yi*, Kong described three equally important components in the *Yijing*—(1) its description of the natural world and the human world as contingent and ever-changing, (2) its emphasis on the existence of a regularity or a pattern for all changes, and (3) its depiction of the spontaneity and effortlessness with which all changes take place in the universe. In contrast to Kong's interpretation, Hu Yuan insisted that *yi* meant changes alone. His denial of the meanings "constant" and "easy" for *yi* was more than a disagreement on the meaning of the word. It was, in effect, a rejection of Kong's reading of the *Yijing* as a pointer to the grand natural system. By restricting *yi* to mean changes alone, Hu affirmed the status of the *Yijing* as a book on phenomenal transformations in general and human affairs in particular. The significance of Hu's position regarding the meaning of *yi* lay not so much in its novelty, but in the way it challenged Kong's plea for a reversal from discrete phenomenal objects (*you*) to the web of relationships that joined everything together in this universe (*wu*). By arguing that *yi* meant changes alone, Hu treated phenomenal affairs as ontologically real, and thereby significant in their own right. Underlying this viewpoint is a different cosmological outlook: the universe is an organic totality in which everything (visible or invisible, part and whole, manifest or immanent) intermixes and interchanges.²⁰

Hu Yuan elaborated on this cosmological outlook in his commentary on the *Xici*. As we recall, in the *Zhouyi zhengyi*, both Han Kangbo and Kong Yingda interpreted the *Xici* from the perspective of reversing from *you* to *wu*. But in Hu Yuan's commentary, we find him interpreting the *Xici* as purely a description of phenomenal changes. For example, in commenting on the *Xici* I regarding the succession of the eight trigrams and the interlocking of the *yin* and the *yang*,²¹ he states:

Heaven originally lies above, and earth originally lies below. When the vital spirit from heaven descends and the vital spirit from earth ascends, the *yang* will change into the *yin* as soon as it is in full force, and the *yin* will change into the *yang* as soon as it is in full force. [In this manner,] when the *yang* is firm, the *yin* will be soft; when the *yin* is reduced, the *yang* will return with strength. The firm and the soft cut and rub each other. They cause changes to each other. Thus, the principle [for the generation] of the myriad things comes into being.²²

In this comment, Hu attempts to give an explanation of the creation of the universe. For him, the universe is created by two forces, the *yin* and the *yang*. By constantly transforming into each other, the two cosmic forces give dynamism to the universe and generate the myriad things. Certainly, Hu's cosmogony does not account for how the *yin* and the *yang* come into being. Nor does he explain how the two forces come to intermix and interchange with each other. But even with these crucial questions remaining unsettled, he still makes his point clear that this universe is created by itself and that it perpetuates itself through the incessant interchange of the *yin* and the *yang*.²³ With this point established, he has taken his first step toward undermining Kong Yingda's argument that there are two levels of existence: one is our visible world of mundane daily life, and the other is an ineffable web of relationships that "gives birth to" (*sheng*) all beings.

Based upon his cosmogony, Hu developed his dynamic view of the universe. One place for him to air his view was the *Xici* I statement "*sheng sheng zhi wei yi*," which can be translated as "generation and regeneration is called change."²⁴ In the *Zhouyi zhengyi*, Kong Yingda interpreted this line as evidence of the "unpremeditated action" (*wuwei*) of nature which generates the myriad things without leaving any traces.²⁵ In Hu's commentary, we find a different interpretation:

"Generation and regeneration" means the *yin* gives birth to the *yang*, and the *yang* gives birth to the *yin*. The Way of heaven and earth as well as the virtue of a sage are called "the noble enterprise" when one speaks of them from the perspective of their significance in bringing prosperity and abundance [to this world]. They are also known as "the divine virtue" when one speaks of them from the perspective of their significance in renewing [the myriad things] on a daily basis. And the way of generating and completing [the myriad things in this world] takes the forms of transmutation and metamorphosis, life and death. What is alive will soon become dead; and what is dead will soon become alive. The "enterprise" and "virtue" of heaven and earth and the sage are to keep generating and regenerating the myriad things without an end.²⁶

In this comment, the description of the universe as a dynamic entity constantly generating and regenerating itself is expressed in full. Since the universe creates itself and perpetuates itself by the constant interchange of the *yin* and the *yang*, unceasing transformation becomes a characterizing feature of the universe. And since all transformations

in this universe are nothing but the interchange between the *yin* and the *yang*, life and death—the two most distinguishing stages of change in the phenomenal world—are not the beginning and cessation of life in the conventional understanding. Rather, they are different phases of the continuum of change espoused by the interaction of the *yin* and the *yang*. In this regard, what is living becomes dead, and what is dead becomes living, depending on how the two forces interact at each point. When life and death are interchangeable, all other elements in this universe—be they natural or supernatural, visible or invisible, big or small, animate or inanimate—are interchangeable as well.

From this dynamic view of the universe, Hu launched his attack on Kong Yingda. One example is his commentary on the *Xici* I statement, “what is above form is called [D]ao; what is within form is called tool.”²⁷ In the original *Xici* statement, a clear distinction is made between “what is above form” (*xing er shang*) and “what is within form” (*xing er xia*). In the *Zhouyi zhengyi*, Han Kangbo and Kong Yingda take this *Xici* distinction as their justification for differentiating *you* from *wu*. They equate *you* as “what is within form” and *wu* as “what is above form.” To drive home his point, Kong Yingda adds this comment: “The Way refers to the essence of *wu*. Form denotes the discrete objects of *you*. Just as *wu* gives birth to *you*, the Way is the source of form. Thus, the Way precedes form; the Way is above form.”²⁸

Turning to Hu Yuan’s commentary, we find him rendering the *Xici* statement in a different way:

The Way of heaven begins in formlessness (*wuxing*) and ends in form (*youxing*). Form and formlessness are both creations of the Way (*Dao*). The Way is that which man models after; it is that by which [man] connects with the myriad things. Before the existence of heaven and earth, the Way disperses in the vital forces. After assuming form and shape, the Way is immanent in phenomenal objects. Thus, the Way is all-encompassing and not confined to formed objects. When the Way is applied to the whole world, it penetrates all things. When the Way is applied to practical affairs, it exhausts changes. All these are the essence of the Way. Indeed, [the Way] begins in formlessness and ends in form.²⁹

In the above, Hu makes the “Way” the supreme concept in describing the organic, ever-changing universe. In his mind, there is no category other than the Way that can accurately portray the dynamism and the self-generative nature of the universe. Even formlessness (*wuxing*)

is only one aspect of the Way. And by upholding the Way as the supreme category concerning the universe, he succeeds in eliminating the dichotomy of *you* and *wu* that is central to Han Kanbo's and Kong Yingda's reading of the *Xici*. For him, the distinction of form and formlessness is meaningless because both are different phases of the Way. No matter whether one focuses on mundane daily life or the ineffable principle of change, the phenomenal objects or the invisible webs of relationships, what one finds is still the same organic, ever-changing universe in action.

The Yijing as a Classic on Human Affairs

Based upon his understanding of the meaning of *yi*, Hu suggested that the *Yijing* should be read from a humanistic perspective. Without denying that there is a cosmological dimension in the *Yijing*, he argued that the classic is at its best when offering advice for perfecting human society and minimizing human misfortunes. To underscore this humanistic dimension of the *Yijing*, he concluded his preface as follows:

Hence, the changes in the natural realm are growth and completion, which are constant on their own. The changes in the human realm depend upon how those in the higher positions [in the government] make their judgments. Why must it be so [regarding the changes in the human realm]? [It is because,] if those with positions know that orders and disorders arise due to the changes [in the relative power] of superior men and inferior men, then they should always put superior men in government posts, and abandon the inferior men. [When this is done], what is underneath heaven will always be in order, without disorder. [If those with positions] know that benefit and harm arise due to the changes of one's sincerity, then they should employ purely sincerity, and get rid of insincerity. [When this is done], what they do will always be beneficial, without any harm. [If those with positions] know that fortunes and misfortunes come as a result of the changes in one's gains or losses, then they should strive to gain in their activities, and avoid loses in their activities. [When this is done,] their activities will always be fortunate, without any misfortune. All these point to one thing: one must take great care in the changes in human affairs.³⁰

This is an important passage for our understanding of Hu's position on the *Yijing*. In the passage, he first acknowledges that changes in both

the natural realm and the human realm are discussed in the *Yijing*. Then, he immediately adds that from a humanistic point of view, the *Yijing* is most enlightening in its discussion of changes with respect to man. For him, changes in nature—no matter how spectacular and orderly they are—are beyond human control. They run their own course and man plays no part except to comply. Conversely, man's acts are always significant to the changes in the human realm. His acts have a direct impact on his fortunes, comforts, and governing. In the human world, man is always an agent of change and a determining factor in his future. For Hu, the *Yijing*'s discussion of changes in human affairs is an inexhaustible treasure for all reflective souls.³¹

A point of textual evidence for Hu's humanistic reading of the *Yijing* is that the classic ends with the hexagram "Wei Ji" (Incompletion, #64). As discussed in chapter 2, with respect to its hexagram image and line statements, "Ji Ji" (Completion, #63) appears to be the more logical ending of the classic. With its perfect alignment of the *yin* lines and *yang* lines and its auspicious line statements, the hexagram "Ji Ji" offers an assurance that everything is fine after one has gone through all the challenges in life. True to its name—"Completion"—the hexagram would provide a closure to the reader's long journey of reading through the classic, and by extension, the long journey of life. Instead, the classic ends with the less desirable hexagram "Wei Ji." The hexagram is troubled by its line alignment—its *yin* lines and *yang* lines are apparently out of order, with a *yin* line in a *yang* position and vice versa. Also true to its name—"Incompletion"—the hexagram line statements are filled with warnings about imminent danger and suggestions for more work to be done. Hence, the question for many *Yijing* commentators (including Wang Bi as we have seen) is why the classic appears to end without an ending.

In his commentary on "Wei Ji," Hu Yuan offers an explanation to this peculiar ending of the *Yijing*:

On the question of why the sixty-four hexagrams begin with "Qian" and "Kun" and end with "Wei Ji," "Qian" and "Kun" connote the sources of growth and completion, and therefore they must be placed at the beginning. "Wei Ji" is placed at the end because it is human nature to lose one's head when things seem to be in order. Either the person may be unable to worry about dangers in times of comfort, or unable to think about annihilation in times of safety. As a result, troubles come. Hence, by ending the text with "Wei Ji," the sagely writer [of the *Yijing*] is giving us a profound lesson.³²

In explaining the significance of the hexagram “Weiji,” Hu Yuan has a great deal to share with Wang Bi. Although not as elegantly written as Wang Bi’s exegesis, Hu Yuan also takes the hexagrams “Jiji” and “Weiji” as a unit, symbolizing human precariousness in a contingent and ever-changing world. Like Wang Bi, Hu sees the two hexagrams as warnings against complacency. For him, everything in the human world is in constant flux and in an incessant process of becoming. Any careless act can be detrimental, if not disastrous. Hence, man has to be prudent and circumspect in his acts. He has to expect danger when he is still secure, and plan for emergencies when everything is still in order. He has to be constantly self-reflective and self-critical in order to ensure his comfort and fortune. From this perspective, the entire text of the *Yijing* is meant to sharpen its readers’ awareness of the contingent nature of the human world. Although it is divided into sixty-four hexagrams, three hundred and eighty-four lines, and the Ten Wings, the goal of the classic is to urge prudence in action. Precisely for this reason, the imperfect hexagram “Weiji” is a better ending of the classic than the perfect hexagram “Jiji.” While ending with the hexagram “Jiji” would give readers a wrong impression that it is possible to establish a perfect order once and for all, the hexagram “Weiji” reminds readers that they are constantly in search of a perfect order. For Hu, the “profound lesson” in the ending of the *Yijing* is that human beings are in a constant process of renewing themselves and their social and political structure.

Human Activism versus Predeterminism

On the surface, Hu Yuan’s reading of the *Yijing* as a classic on human affairs reminds us of Kong Yingda’s attempt to turn the classic into a political text. Both commentators appear to emphasize the importance of the *Yijing* as a classic teaching the art of governing. Nevertheless, there is a key difference in the two commentators. Whereas Kong Yingda’s reading of the *Yijing* tended to support the absolute power of the king, underlying Hu Yuan’s reading was his belief in human activism, directed broadly to all individuals. He believed that human beings, although to a great degree influenced by their environment, could take an active role in shaping their lives. He also believed that, as part of the universe, human beings were already fulfilling their cosmic mission by improving their social and political order. For him, since the universe is actively renewing itself with the interaction of the *yin* and

the *yang*, human beings should also be actively renewing themselves in matters big and small.

In the early Northern Song, Hu's belief in human activism was at odds with many of his contemporaries. Shaped by their experiences in the Period of the Five Dynasties when political power changed hands five times in less than sixty years, the early Northern Song emperors and many high officials believed that human affairs were predetermined. They believed that human beings were forever barred from understanding the intent of Heaven. What human beings could do was to follow what heaven had decided, known as the "Mandate of Heaven" (*tianming*). For instance, partly to justify his rule, Emperor Taizu (r. 960–975) discussed repeatedly how he was put on the throne by Heaven. Referring to the palace coup d'état in 960 that started the Song and numerous occasions where he almost lost his life, Emperor Taizu remarked that "the rise to power of an emperor depends on the Mandate of Heaven, neither can one seek for Heaven's Mandate nor can one refuse it."³³ A few decades later, Emperor Zhenzong went a step further in showing how heavily human affairs were determined by the "Mandate of Heaven." Having made peace with the Khitans by signing the Treaty of Shanyuan in 1004, Emperor Zhenzong indulged himself in receiving "the heavenly writings" (*tianshu*)—supposedly a sign from Heaven with specific instructions on governing. Orchestrated by the minister Wang Qinruo (960–1025), Emperor Zhenzong spent years on the road paying tribute to Heaven by visiting sacred sites and mountains.³⁴ Likewise, many high officials of the early Northern Song such as Wang Pu (922–982) and Xue Juzheng continued to adopt the fatalistic worldview of the scholar-officials in the period of the Five Dynasties. They passively accepted whatever came to them, and were seldom assertive in changing the course of events.³⁵ A poem by Feng Dao, a high official of the Five Dynasties whom Ouyang Xiu condemned in *New History of the Five Dynasties*, helps to illustrate this fatalistic worldview of many high officials of the early Northern Song. Still circulated among a small number of early Northern Song officials, Feng's poem runs as follows:

Poverty and prosperity are all determined by the Mandate
[of Heaven].

We have no need to sigh in sorrow.

So long as we keep performing good deeds,

We need not ascertain the future.

When winter passes away, the ice will melt.
 When spring comes, the grass will grow.
 I invite all of you to observe this principle.
 The Way of Heaven will be abundantly clear.³⁶

In contrast, by rendering the *Yijing* into a classic on human activism, Hu Yuan intended to challenge this fatalistic view of the early Northern Song. He wanted to replace the passive, receptive attitude to life with one that stressed active involvement in changing the social and political order. More importantly, by articulating a dynamic cosmological view based on a reading of the *Yijing*, he sought to give the Northern Song educated elite—who entered the Song government in huge numbers since the 990s—the confidence to participate in ordering the world.

Sage versus Hermit

To emphasize the importance of human activism, a recurring theme in the *Zhouyi kouyi* was sagehood. Repeatedly Hu Yuan read the *Yijing*—sometimes at the risk of twisting the text—as a treatise on the meaning of sagehood. In his mind, there was no doubt that the *Yijing* stood out among other Confucian classics because of its emphasis on sagehood. For him, the discussion of sagehood in the *Yijing* begins with its first hexagram “Qian” (The creative). In commenting on the line statement of the first line, “Hidden dragon, do not act” (*qian long wu yong*), he stated:

“Hidden dragon” here means the *yang* is not manifest and remains in a hidden ground. “Do not act” is the sagacious writer’s warning to posterity not taking “hidden dragon” as a virtue. Why is it said like this? It is because man with his embodiment of the finest spirit of the Five Agents is born to be the most spiritual being among the myriad things. Yet among us, fools and the unworthy are always in the majority, and wise and capable persons are often in short supply. Sages, with their embodiment of the completely refined virtue and with their endowment of the purity of heaven, are far superior to the wise man. With his quality, a sage will penetrate all things and illuminate all events. Hence, a sage should make himself available to society. It is appropriate for him to complete his worldly enterprise by giving assistance to the emperor, bringing welfare to the people, and facilitating the myriad things. This is why the *Wenyan*³⁷ says: “A superior man will practice his virtue in actions. Every day one can see him in actions.” Nowadays, those who have sagacious virtue and

intelligence hide themselves from human affairs. Then, who is going to administer the fools and the unworthy in this world? [It is clear that those who choose to hide themselves] do not know the divine purpose of having sages on earth.³⁸

Hu's interpretation of this line is unconventional. For most *Yijing* commentators since the sixth century, the line had been taken to mean that one must retreat from political activity when the government is in disarray. In the *Zhouyi zhengyi*, for instance, Kong Yingda cited Emperor Shun (a farmer) in ancient antiquity and Emperor Gaozu of Han (a junior military officer) in the second century B.C.E. as examples of "hidden dragon" abstaining from serving the crumbling state.³⁹ The strongest textual evidence for this kind of interpretation comes from Confucius's exhortation in the *Analects* to hide in times of misgovernment.⁴⁰ For Kong, "Hidden dragon. Do not act" was a restatement of Confucius's well-known maxim "When the Way prevails under Heaven, then show yourself; when it does not prevail, then hide."⁴¹ In this regard, Hu's interpretation of the line as not following the example of a hidden dragon is not only at odds with the received understanding of the line statement, but also casts doubt on the projected image of Confucius as an advocate of protesting by reclusion.⁴²

In addition, Hu's interpretation directly goes against his own actions. Having spent ten years hiding on Mount Tai pondering the classics and discarding family letters upon seeing the words "peaceful and contented," does he not seem to be a hermit? Having not passed the civil service examinations to become an official to serve the state, does he himself ever help in managing human affairs? Although we do not have any historical evidence of Hu having been criticized for being a hermit, judging by the furor centered upon Sun Fu (Hu's companion on Mount Tai) for his being a hermit, it is possible that the same accusation could have been made against him. Regarding the criticism of Sun Fu for his alleged eremitism, we find reports in the *Song shi* and *Song Yuan xue'an* about Sun Fu being invited to serve in the government only after his student Shi Jie had defended his eremitism.⁴³ In the *Song Yuan xue'an*, this episode of defending Sun's eremitism was centered on Shi Jie's essay "On Reclusion" (Ming yin). In the essay, Shi explained the differences between Sun Fu's retreat at Mount Tai and the retreat of other hermits. He argued that Sun Fu's stay at Mount Tai was not a real retreat, but a preparation for an upcoming opportunity to serve the state.⁴⁴

If such was the case that, like Sun Fu, Hu Yuan had to explain his alleged eremitism in his early life, the questions for us are as follows: given his precarious position as a semihermit, why does Hu speak of a sage as not being a hermit? Why do being a sage and being a hermit have to be antithetical? How does Hu perceive his hiding on Mount Tai as categorically different from ordinary recluses? It is in light of these questions that Hu's critique of Kong Yingda's interpretation of "hidden dragon" is revealing. He said:

In [Kong Yingda's] sub-commentary, the examples of Emperor Shun farming on Mount Li, and Gao Zu of Han being a junior military officer at River Si are cited [to elucidate the meaning of "hidden dragon"]. Were they hiding themselves? No, they were only cultivating and completing their virtues. At times, do sages not also find it imperative to hide themselves? Yes, but the fact is that they know the Way in them is yet to be implemented, and their mission is far from being fulfilled, so they engage in learning to cultivate and complete their sagely virtues, and implement them later to the whole world. They are never satisfied with spending their whole life in mountains and forests. Yet, there are occasions in which the entire government is in disarray. These are indeed times for hiding. That is why the *Doctrine of the Mean* says: "The Way of the superior man is abstruse and wondrous." Be that as it may, it is still not hiding oneself. It is only hiding one's body without forsaking one's mission. It is done by not giving one's private interest precedence over the public good.⁴⁵

Like Shi Jie in his essay "On Reclusion," Hu Yuan presents two contrasting views on being a hermit. On the one hand, he outlines the conventional position as expounded by Kong Yingda; that is, being a hermit is permissible in times of misgovernment. On the other hand, he enunciates his own perspective on the issue; that is, being a hermit is morally wrong regardless of the state of government. Through rounds of questions and answers, he gradually brings to the fore the central point of contention between these two positions—the meaning of being a hermit.

For Hu, it is of course permissible for one to refrain from serving the state when it is already in disarray. Moreover, he does not find it objectionable to seclude oneself in the mountains as a sign of protest. On these two points, he shares the conventional view on being a hermit. Yet, what separates him from the others is the purpose of hiding. At this crucial juncture, he introduces a distinction between "hiding one's body" and "forsaking one's mission." For him, a sage hiding on

a mountain (like his stay on Mount Tai) is only hiding one's body but not forsaking one's mission. The hiding sage spends all of his time in seclusion preparing himself for his upcoming opportunity to serve the public. By contrast, a hermit is one who hides on a mountain to sever all connections with human affairs, content with devoting the remainder of his life to his own enjoyment. For a sage, hiding on a mountain is only a compromise in times of trouble. It is a temporary retreat for a more meaningful service in the future. For a hermit, however, hiding on a mountain is his renunciation of his duties to humankind, and his declaration of the pursuit of happiness for himself. The distinction between the two does not lie in the act of hiding; it lies in whether one gives precedence to the public good or to private interest.

Opposing the Practice of Honoring the Hermits

It is important to notice that Hu's interpretation of "hidden dragon" was aimed at the early Northern Song practice of honoring the hermits. In Hu's times, being a hermit was considered to be a lofty undertaking, or an expression of one's supreme intelligence. Famous hermits, such as Chen Tuan (?–989) and Zhong Fang (955–1014), were regarded as wise men possessing foreknowledge about the future. They were believed to lead their lives in complete harmony with the grand scheme of the universe.⁴⁶ To some historians, this respect for eremitism during the early Northern Song was in part a response to the rapid change of government during the Period of the Five Dynasties. To explain why hermits were honored in the early Northern Song, the "Biographies of the Hermits" (*yinyi zhuan*) of the *Song shi* opens with a preface containing the line statements of hexagrams "Gu" (Decay, #18), "Dun" (Retreat, #33), and "Gen" (Keeping Still, #52). It is said that during the early Northern Song, reclusion was considered a lofty undertaking because, by withdrawing themselves from society and enduring the hardship of living alone in the mountains, the hermits were thought of as performing a moral act, protesting against corrupted governments and irresponsible rulers.⁴⁷

There were plenty of examples of this respect for eremitism during the early Northern Song. One was the *Taiping yulan* (Imperial Digest of the Reign of Grand Tranquility). Completed in 983 under the order of Emperor Taizong and representing the epitome of the highest level of scholarship of the time,⁴⁸ the *Taiping yulan* contained a full section on hermits, along with sections on loyal officials, devoted relatives,

and necromancers. Underlying the contributions of hermits to society and polity, the section on hermits brought together all the important statements throughout history concerning the importance of eremitism.⁴⁹ Another example was the early Northern Song emperors' policy of honoring the hermits. To show that the Song government was categorically different from those in the Period of the Five Dynasties, the early Northern Song emperors (particularly Emperors Taizong and Zhenzong) regularly granted audience to hermits in appreciation of their loftiness.⁵⁰ With their presence in court, the early Northern Song emperors wanted to prove that the Song had the moral support of hermits, and the government was aggressive in seeking their sagely advice. A case in point is Emperor Taizong's numerous meetings with the hermit Chen Tuan. Feeling uneasy about Chen Tuan's reluctance in offering advice to the Song government, Taizong kept pressing him for advice during many of his visits to the imperial court. Finally Chen figured out a way to please the emperor. He told the emperor that since the Song government was well run and had brought peace to China after decades of chaos, he had nothing to offer to further improve the government. Apparently Emperor Taizong got what he wanted from Chen. He immediately promoted him to a higher rank and allowed him to return to the mountains a few months later.⁵¹

In this regard, Hu Yuan's interpretation of "hidden dragon" was aimed at correcting what he perceived as a widespread wrongdoing. To fully understand Hu's purpose in opposing eremitism, we turn to his commentary on the hexagram "Gu" (Decay, #18). In the early decades of the Northern Song, the hexagram "Gu" was frequently evoked to justify eremitism. For example, in support of reclusion, the editors of the *Taiping yulan* began the section on hermits by citing the line statement of the top line of "Gu," which says: "He does not serve kings and princes, but sets himself higher goals."⁵² For readers of the *Taiping yulan*, the line statement appeared to justify eremitism by calling it a lofty enterprise. This reading of the top line of "Gu" was not entirely baseless. It derived from Kong Yingda's rendition of the line, which said: "No longer worrying about mundane affairs, [the person at the top line of "Gu"] does not set his heart on human events, nor does he accept the constraints of duty and rank. Instead of serving kings and princes, he gains honor by focusing on activities that are pure and vacuous."⁵³ Although Kong did not explicitly mention eremitism in his commentary, his reference to "pure and vacuous activities" (*qing xu zhi shi*) was an important hint for his eleventh-century readers.

For Hu Yuan, however, the top line of “Gu” had nothing to do with eremitism. Rather, the line statement was about a graceful retirement of an official after spending his entire life serving in the government. Hu’s commentary on the line statement reads as follows:

In administering affairs, if one begins with care, then at the end his goals will be accomplished. . . . If [an official] reaches high age when the government is in good order and the tasks of governing have been completed, he should be contented. Not being tempted by [the rewards in] high position, he should set himself higher goals by retiring from serving kings and princes.⁵⁴

Rather than seeing the lines as a justification for hiding on mountains, Hu Yuan reads “not serving kings and princes” to mean an aging official yielding his power in the government to enjoy his retirement. Instead of glorifying the loftiness of a hermit, he reads “setting himself higher goals” to mean a retiring official who, by stepping down, gives precedence to public good over his personal interest in power. Although we have no evidence to prove that Hu wrote this commentary in response to the *Taiping yulan*, it is apparent that in composing the commentary he had in mind what the line statement was taken to mean by his contemporaries.

As if to ensure that readers of his time would fully comprehend his point, Hu ended his commentary on the top line of “Gu” with a direct reference to the practice of honoring the hermits. He said:

It is unfortunate that today many of us take “high goals” to mean not working for his family, respecting his parents, serving the government, being loyal to the emperor, and bringing benefits to the people. For them, having “higher goals” means withdrawing from society and hiding in the mountains. What they mean by “higher goals” is to keep company with animals, plants, and rocks. This is not the original meaning of the line statement of the top line of “Gu.”⁵⁵

Here Hu makes clear his opposition to the practice of honoring the hermits. By referring to the hermits as the “companions” of animals, plants, and rocks, he underscores the danger of favoring eremitism—creating a lack of interest among the educated elite in social and political affairs. For him, eremitism may be permissible or even respected in time of political chaos (such as the Period of the Five Dynasties). However, it should not be encouraged when a stable government (like that of the Song) is already in place. Leaving aside the fact that Hu may not be entirely correct about the original meaning of the line statement of the

top line of “Gu,” it is clear that he skillfully uses the line statement to call his readers’ attention to an outdated social practice, urging them to change it as soon as possible. Also clear in Hu’s commentary is his idea of being timely. For him, the times had changed, and the social values needed to change accordingly. The practice that used to be honorable during the Period of the Five Dynasties (such as eremitism) might not necessarily be applicable to the needs of the Northern Song.⁵⁶

Sage for the Public

From a slightly different perspective, Hu’s objection to eremitism was more than a critique of contemporary practice. It pointed as well toward a redefinition of sagehood. As one recalls, the main thrust of Hu’s commentary on “hidden dragon” of the hexagram “Qian” centers on the notion that a sage has to dedicate himself to the public good. It is the sacrifice of one’s personal interest for the sake of the common good that characterizes a sage—the highest stage for a learned man. On the surface, there seems to be nothing new about Hu’s notion of sagehood. Both the *Analects* and the *Mencius* have been unequivocal in presenting sagehood in this manner. For example, in the *Analects*, Confucius’s discussion of the concept of *Ren* (Altruism) is clearly centered upon one’s commitment to serve the public.⁵⁷ A similar argument is also found in the *Mencius* wherein Mencius debates with King Wei at Liang on various issues like kingship, altruism, and human nature.⁵⁸

But what is significant about Hu’s interpretation is that he was reiterating a standard Confucian notion of sagehood to inspire among his contemporaries an intense concern for the public good. Throughout the *Zhouyi kouyi*, taking care of the public was the single most important theme in his discussion of sagehood. A case in point is his comment on the line statement of the sixth line of the hexagram “Jing” (Well, #48). The line statement refers to uncovering the well to allow people to draw water from it.⁵⁹ Hu’s comment reads:

“To draw” means something is drawn out. “Cover” means to conceal. The Way of a well is to benefit man by letting him draw water from it. . . . “Do not cover it” means that when the Way of a well is in full completion at the sixth *yin* line, then people from all over the world and travelers from all corners must be allowed to nourish themselves by drawing water from the well. The well cannot be covered for selfish reasons. This is comparable to a superior man, whose virtue

is complete, needing to extend his service to the world and let all mankind receive his benefits. He should not hide himself in the mountains and forests, and attain goodness for himself. He should not be stingy and should render service [to humankind].⁶⁰

By taking “the well” and “to cover” metaphorically, Hu relates the *Yijing* statement to the issue of serving the public. By equating a well in full service with a superior man extending his service to humankind, he finds reason to condemn “the covering of a well,” or the forsaking of one’s duties to his fellow beings by hiding his talents. Thus, Hu makes his point clear that it is a sage’s duty to serve the public.

In other cases, Hu’s message is conveyed in the form of passionate exhortation. The best example is his commentary on the *Xici* statement regarding a superior man who “actively involves himself in managing the world without being carried away” (*pang xing er bu liu*) and “rejoices in the fate of Heaven and understands his own mission” (*le tian zhi ming*).⁶¹ Hu’s commentary goes like this:

A sage assumes the central position between Heaven and Earth, resides in a place facing south, eliminates his personal desires, and separates from vicious groupings. What he does is centered and just, straight and honest, treating the whole world as one family and the millions of people as having one single sentiment. Every act [of the sage] is done in accordance with the Way of Supreme Centrality. Here “[a man] is actively involved in managing the world without being carried away” is said, because a sage does not only aim at purifying himself. Equipped with his virtue of Utmost Centrality, a sage also seeks to align with heaven above, integrate with earth below, and unify with man in the middle. He does not have selfish desires and one-sided inclinations, nor is there anything beyond his concern. Even when he acts in the world, he is never selfish, errant, or deviant. All of this occurs because a sage is utmost fair and just.⁶²

From the above depiction, a sage is not only an anthropocosmic being (like Chen Tuan and Zhong Fang) providing a link between humankind on the one hand, and Heaven and Earth on the other. More importantly, a sage is one deeply involved in human affairs, who considers “the whole world as one family and the millions of people as having one single sentiment.” By being actively involved in managing human affairs, a sage turns this world into his testing ground, proving and elevating himself through service to the public. Of course, the human world is full of vices, prejudices, and injustice. Anybody in it is at risk of being debased and deformed. Yet, it is through countering human

wickedness, transforming vices into good deeds, and providing care to others, that a sage completes his sagely mission.

To further support his argument that a sage completes his mission in and through the human world, Hu specifies the criterion for being a sage. In commenting on the *Tuan* statement of “Tongren” (Fellowship, #13),⁶³ he writes:

A superior man has the mind of altruism and righteousness, and the way of honesty and forgiveness. He begins with himself and extends his virtue to the people. Therefore, he never worries about himself, he worries about the world; he never rejoices for himself, he rejoices for the world. The justice of a superior man is to have every man on earth share his view and follow his way. Hence, the way of “Tongren” is to benefit the justly superior man alone.⁶⁴

In this, one finds echo of Fan Zhongyan’s oft-quoted maxim that men of letters should be “first in worrying about the world’s troubles and last in enjoying its pleasures.”⁶⁵ Expressed in a fashion remarkably similar to Fan, Hu argues that the criterion for a sage is: “he never worries about himself, he worries about the world; he never rejoices for himself, he rejoices for the world.” For both Fan and Hu, a sage must give priority to the public interest. It is by transcending one’s selfishness, expanding one’s horizon to embody others’ interests, and taking service to others as service to oneself, that a man can reach the highest plane of humanity—sagehood. And this similarity in outlook between the two persons may explain why Fan Zhongyan invited Hu Yuan, a semihermit, to teach in provincial and national academies. It was with Fan Zhongyan in the government implementing the *Qingli* reform in 1043–1044 and with Hu Yuan at schools teaching students new values that a public-serving spirit was ushered in among the early Northern Song scholars.⁶⁶

Mission of Civil Bureaucrats

In stressing a public-serving spirit among the educated elite, one may say that Fan and Hu were articulating the mission of the Northern Song civil bureaucrats. As Peter Bol has pointed out, the civil bureaucrats in the tenth and eleventh centuries were substantially different from the scholar-officials of the large aristocratic clans from the sixth century to the ninth century.⁶⁷ While the civil bureaucrats earned wealth and power by passing the civil service examinations and working in the

government as officials, the aristocratic scholar-officials inherited wealth and power from their families, including their positions in the government. For the civil bureaucrats, their personal interests coincided with those of the government. They flourished only when a structure of recruitment based on examinations was in place. By contrast, the aristocratic scholar-officials paid premium on protecting and perpetuating family interests. Although in many instances to protect the interest of one's family involved protecting the interest of the imperial court, the aristocratic scholar-officials never doubted that perpetuating the family interests always took precedence over perpetuating the interests of the state.⁶⁸

Among the top officials in the Period of the Five Dynasties and in the early decades of the Northern Song, many were the aristocratic scholar-officials. A characteristic of these scholar-officials was that they took a passive role in policy making, following rather than initiating orders. Unwilling to risk their careers, they never challenged the emperors openly, even though they might harbor different opinions. A case in point is the Grand Councilor of Emperor Taizu, Fan Zhi (911–964). Having served the last three dynasties in the Five Dynasties Period, Fan Zhi was one of the leading officials helping to establish the Song government in the first few years after its establishment. In an overt attempt to win the trust of Emperor Taizu, Fan Zhi recommended the abolition of the longstanding practice of the emperor holding regular meetings with the Grand Councilor, giving the emperor all the power he needed to decide policies. As the top official in the first few years of the Song government, Fan Zhi acted like an imperial secretary copying meticulously every word uttered by Emperor Taizu, for fear of misrepresenting his orders.⁶⁹ Another example is Zhao Pu (922–992), who served as the Grand Councilor of Emperor Taizong. Joining the Song as a former official of the Zhou (last dynasty in the Five Dynasties Period), Zhao Pu was more assertive a Grand Councilor than Fan Zhi, nonetheless he never confronted Emperor Taizong openly. His strategy for letting his views be known was to repeatedly send the same document to the emperor until it was accepted. If the emperor felt irritated (in one case, Taizong tore his document into pieces), Zhao Pu would stop pursuing the subject and never mention it again until the following day.⁷⁰ This strategy of not confronting the emperor continued among the top officials during the reign of Emperor Zhenzong. When the emperor engaged himself in extravagant travels to show off the “heavenly writings” and to pay

tribute to sacred sites and mountains, none of the top officials dared to question his decision. One top official, Wang Dan (957–1017), was reportedly feeling ashamed of himself for not attempting to oppose the emperor's self-indulgence.⁷¹

In sharp contrast to the passivity and self-serving attitude of the aristocratic scholar-officials in the early decades of the Northern Song, the civil bureaucrats of Fan Zhongyan's generation believed that they ruled the world with the emperor. Entering into the bureaucracy through passing the civil service examinations, the civil bureaucrats in the 1040s thought that they had the responsibility to improve the government in order to ensure its longevity. They regarded advancing the interests of the government as important as, if not more important than, advancing their own. As James Liu has shown, this idealism of Fan's generation was given an expression in the innovative, although short-lived, *Qingli* reform in 1043–1044.⁷² Encapsulated in Fan's famous ten-point proposal—which included reforms of local administration, and the recruitment and advancement of officials—the civil bureaucrats in the 1040s attempted to reconstitute the social and political structure of the Song to avoid impending fiscal and military crises. Although it lasted only for a year and a half, the *Qingli* reform set the stage for even more aggressive reforms in the reign of Emperor Shenzong (1068–1085), such as Wang Anshi's New Policies.⁷³

What is less known but perhaps equally revealing was the controversy that took place in 1032 surrounding Emperor Renzong's decision to demote Empress Guo. In love with the imperial consort Zhang, the young emperor planned to make her his official wife. As the first step to achieve his goal, he demoted the empress and relocated her to a remote palace. Risking their careers if not their lives, the young censors Fan Zhongyan and Kong Daofu (986–1039) stood up to oppose the emperor's decision by protesting in front of the imperial palace. Also putting their careers on the line, other censors and officials lent support to Fan and Kong, after the emperor had sent his Grand Councilor Lü Yijian (997–1044) to reiterate his decision to the protesting censors. When the emperor decided to punish the outspoken censors and officials, many of them took the punishment without regret, regarding it as their duty to suffer for the just cause.⁷⁴ This self-sacrificing spirit of the civil bureaucrats shocked not only the young Emperor Renzong (who had just begun to rule after eleven years of Empress Liu's regency), but also many of the high officials. So used to following orders from the emperors, many of the high officials could not comprehend why

the young censors and officials were eager to give up their future to protest a seemingly minor decision of Emperor Renzong. In the late 1030s, showing again their determination to sacrifice their careers for a just cause, Fan Zhongyan's three supporters—Yu Jing (1000–1064), Yin Zhu (1001–46), and Ouyang Xiu—accepted banishment willingly in protest against Fan having been wrongly accused of forming a subversive faction. In a letter to Yin Zhu, Ouyang described the disbelief of many high officials after watching one young official after another volunteer to accept punishment along with Fan Zhongyan. Underscoring the historical significance of the episode, Ouyang argued that for decades the high officials were used to remaining silent in the face of the emperor's decisions, they could not believe their eyes when they saw so many young officials give up their careers in protest.⁷⁵

We do not know whether, in commenting on the *Yijing*, Hu Yuan had the demotion of Empress Guo or the banishment of Fan Zhongyan's three supporters in mind. Nor do we know whether he would have taken the same provocative action as Fan Zhongyan and others did, if he had been a high official. But it is clear when he said in the *Zhouyi kouyi* that “[a superior man] never worries about himself, he worries about the world; he never rejoices for himself, he rejoices for the world,” he captured the self-sacrificing spirit of Fan Zhongyan's generation in their attempt at ordering the world. By defining a sage as a public-spirited person, he gave voice to the mission of the civil bureaucrats of the 1030s and 1040s, who believed that they ruled the world with the emperor. In this regard, Hu Yuan's discussion of sagehood in the *Zhouyi kouyi* was not a repetition of the past but a direct attempt to address contemporary needs. The sagehood of the *Zhouyi kouyi* was meant for civil bureaucrats who increasingly controlled the Northern Song government. It was to remind them that the regularity in nature was applicable to human society, and human beings were capable of constructing a social and political structure as lasting as the natural system. Of course, political infighting and factional struggles during the *Qingli* Reform showed that civil bureaucrats might have overlooked the complexity of politics and overestimated their power to change the world. Yet, as demonstrated in the *Zhouyi kouyi*, civil bureaucrats of the 1030s and 1040s were determined to part ways with aristocratic scholar-officials who had dominated the political scene for centuries. After decades of effort by the Northern Song emperors to replace military governance with civil governance, finally civil bureaucrats had formed their own identity, one that separated them from their predecessors.

Li Gou's Essays on the Yijing

Among Hu Yuan's contemporaries, Li Gou also expressed the same optimism about participating in ordering the world. In many respects, Li Gou's life mirrored Hu Yuan's. First, like Hu, Li did not pass the civil service examinations. Despite his accomplishment in classical learning he was stopped at the "thorny gates" of the examinations, spending much of his mature life as a private scholar. Also like Hu, after years of solitary study, he was discovered by Fan Zhongyan who recommended him to be a teacher at the Imperial Academy.⁷⁶ For Li, his appointment at the Imperial Academy was not only a hard-won honor after a lifelong commitment to scholarship, but also a living example of the triumph of civil governance.

Li Gou did not write a full commentary on the *Yijing*. But his two writings on the *Yijing*—"Thirteen essays on the *Yijing*" (*Yilun shisan pian*) and "Preface to the edited *Yi* diagrams" (*Shanding yitu xulun*)—reflect his commitment to rendering the classic as a treatise on governing.⁷⁷ In these two writings, like Hu Yuan, Li Gou also used the *Yijing* to counter the lingering impact of passivism and predeterminism of the Five Dynasties Period. However, there is a significant difference. While Hu Yuan traced the source of passivism and predeterminism to Kong Yingda's *Zhouyi zhengyi*, Li Gou saw them being expressed in the development of sophisticated diagrams to explain the *Yijing* during his times. In his "Preface to the edited *Yi* diagrams," for instance, he bluntly criticized his peers for wasting their energies in improving diagrams such as the "Charts of [Yellow] River" (*He tu*) and the "Books from Luo River" (*Luo shu*). For him, these diagrams "led the students of the *Yi* astray" and "brought harm to the sagely teaching."⁷⁸ The problems with these diagrams, Li suggested, lay not in their graphic presentation of the *Yijing* trigrams and hexagrams, but in the ways they made the classic look unrelated to human affairs. Reminiscent of Hu Yuan's definition of *yi* in *Yijing*, Li told his readers that the *Yijing* was about "the management of human affairs" (*renshi xiu*) and "the explication of the Kingly Way" (*wangdao ming*).⁷⁹

Compared with Hu Yuan, Li was more forthcoming in invoking Wang Bi as an *Yijing* authority. As mentioned earlier, parts of Hu Yuan's commentary were partially built on Wang Bi's reading of the *Yijing* (e.g., hexagrams "Jiji" and "Weiji"), but Hu never openly cited Wang Bi. Hu's reluctance to cite Wang reflects his ambivalence with Wang's exegetical methodology. On the one hand, he shared Wang's

interest in rendering the *Yijing* as a political and moral text; on the other hand, he had reservations about his plea for reverting from *you* to *wu*. In contrast, Li Gou regarded Wang Bi as only a moral-political thinker, and he considered Wang's alleged metaphysical discussions as something that Han Kangbo and Kong Yingda put in his mouth. With this distinction, Li Gou described his "Thirteen essays on the *Yijing*" as "an application of Wang Bi's commentary to explaining the meanings of the *Yijing*." And the purpose of this exercise, according to Li, was to serve "the urgent needs of Heaven and Earth and the [Song] Dynasty."⁸⁰

By "urgent needs," Li Gou meant the early Northern Song concern about setting up a stable social and political system, in order to avoid becoming another short-lived dynasty like those in the Five Dynasties Period. For Li, the *Yijing* had much to offer in restructuring the social and political order, and Wang Bi's commentary gave specific suggestions as to how to apply the classic to governing. Thus, in "Thirteen essays on the *Yijing*," Li discussed the classic from three interlocking perspectives: the emperor's responsibility in ruling the empire, the officials' loyalty in serving the emperor, and the relationship between moral cultivation and ruling the empire.⁸¹ Following a longstanding tradition in *Yijing* studies, Li took the fifth line of each hexagram as "the line of an emperor," discussing what an emperor should do under a particular circumstance. Similarly, he regarded the second line of each hexagram as "the line of an official," elucidating how an official should act in a given situation. For instance, he read the fifth lines of hexagrams "Yi" (Increase, #42) and "Jiji" (Completion, #63) as calling on the emperor, at a time of peace and prosperity, to offer more services to his people.⁸² He considered the second line in hexagram "Jian" (Obstruction, #39) as issuing a warning to officials not to provoke the emperor's suspicion.⁸³ As a whole, like Wang Bi, Li Gou rendered the *Yijing* as a classic about "worries and apprehensions" (*you huan*) intended for anyone who was in the midst of change.⁸⁴ For him, the *Yijing* teaches readers how to cope with the uncertain future, the rise and fall of one's wealth and power, and the ebb and flow in human fortune.

Although Li Gou saw contingency in life as a fact that nobody could avoid, he stressed officials' duty to obey the emperor's orders. Regarding the emperor-official relationship, Li Gou was apparently closer to the Five Dynasties aristocratic families than the early Northern Song civil bureaucrats. As such, he differed significantly from Hu Yuan

in envisioning the mission of civil bureaucrats. A case in point is Li Gou's insistence on the humility of officials in interpreting the second line of hexagram "Jian" (Obstruction, #39). As mentioned earlier, the hexagram line is, in Li's opinion, an encapsulation of what an official should do in the government. For him, the reason for the second line of "Jian" being described as "an official in grave danger" (*wang chen jian jian*) is that it refers to a precarious situation in which an official has to make strenuous effort to help the emperor.⁸⁵ It is an occasion when the official's loyalty is being tested, and only after the official has humbly and attentively served the needs of the emperor would he be able to avert the imminent dangers. Turning to Hu Yuan's commentary, we find a different reading. For Hu, the second line of "Jian" is no doubt about a loyal official making extra effort to serve the emperor. Yet, the "grave dangers" of the official lies not merely in whether he will do his utmost to help the emperor, but also in whether he realizes that in helping the emperor, he is helping the people of the entire empire. To stress the latter point, Hu suggests that his readers emulate the second line "in serving the emperor above and the people below by ridding the world of dangers."⁸⁶ This difference between Li and Hu in interpreting the second line of "Jian" indicates that not everyone in the early Northern Song accepted the aggressive, assertive, and self-sacrificing mission of civil bureaucrats as personified by Fan Zhongyan. For Li, despite their good intentions to corule the empire with the emperor, the civil bureaucrats should not overstep the boundary between the emperor and the official. Whether they would be the corulers of the empire, they were first and foremost officials who owed their power and position in government to the emperor.

Ouyang Xiu's Essays on the Yijing

Turning to another of Hu Yuan's contemporaries, Ouyang Xiu, we have yet another example of using the *Yijing* to define the mission of civil bureaucrats. In the history of *Yijing* studies, Ouyang is well known for his iconoclasm. In his oft-cited essay, "A young child's questions about the *Yijing*" (*Yi tongzi wen*), he challenged the longstanding convention of taking Confucius to be the author of the *Xici*.⁸⁷ Although unintended, his challenge also threatened another longstanding convention—Confucius's authorship of the Ten Wings, the widely accepted turning point in transforming the *Zhouyi* (a divination text) into the *Yijing* (a moral and philosophical text).⁸⁸ His reputation as

an iconoclast notwithstanding, in much of Ouyang's *Yijing* writings, including "A young child's questions about the *Yijing*" and "Questions and doubts about the *Yijing*" (*Yi huo wen*), he affirmed the *Yijing* as a moral and political text explaining Confucius's vision of a perfect society. More importantly, despite his questions about Confucius's authorship of the *Xici*, he believed that a large part of the Ten Wings, particularly the *Tuan*, the *Daxiang*, and the *Xiaoxiang*, were written by Confucius to express his discontentment with his times. Thus, in evaluating Ouyang's contribution to the study of the *Yijing*, we need to balance his iconoclasm with his unwavering belief in the classic being a Confucian text partly authored by Confucius.

For Ouyang Xiu, who in the 1030s risked his career as an official by standing up to Emperor Renzong, the *Yijing* lent support to the civil bureaucrats' demand for their active participation in ordering the world. Certainly, as a leading historian of the Five Dynasties Period in his times, Ouyang was fully aware of the need to preserve the integrity of the social and political order. Decades of political fragmentation and social degeneration preceding the Northern Song clearly demonstrated the danger of allowing arrogant officials to usurp the power of the emperor. But, for him, preserving the integrity of the social and political order did not necessarily mean that officials had to be submissive, docile, and compliant. If the emperor commits mistakes, the officials will have the responsibility to remonstrate to the emperor on behalf of the public. Should the emperor refuse to listen when the interest of the public is in jeopardy, the officials will have the unwelcome task of making revolution to change the government. For Ouyang, this paradox of preserving the integrity of the social and political order on the one hand and of encouraging officials to be aggressive in remonstrance and rebellion on the other, is explained in hexagram "Ge" (Revolution, #49). Invoking the Shang revolution against the Xia as an example, the *Tuan* statement of "Ge" describes a revolution on behalf of the public as "following the direction of Heaven and responding to the request of Humankind" (*shun hu tian er ying hu ren*).⁸⁹ According to Ouyang, the *Tuan* statement is correct in promoting rebellion against the tyrant king because the hexagram addresses a particular situation in which the normal social and political order is being hijacked by a ruler to pursue his private interests. In other situations, such as in hexagrams "Qian" (The Creative, #1) and "Kun" (The Receptive, #2) where the social and political order is functioning properly, he pointed out, the *Yijing* discusses the opposite—the need to protect the integrity of the social

and political order. For him, these differences indicate the complexity of human life and the importance of dealing with each situation in its own terms.⁹⁰

Whether working for or rebelling against the emperor, Ouyang Xiu believed that the educated elite should have the interest of the public in mind. On this score, Ouyang was in complete accord with Hu Yuan, and they shared the same view on sagehood. As mentioned earlier, Hu Yuan considered a sage as one who never worried about himself but worried about the world, and who never rejoiced for himself but rejoiced for the world. For Ouyang, it was the same. Whereas Hu found a discussion of a public-minded sage in hexagram “Tongren” (Fellowship, #13), Ouyang found it in “Yu” (Enthusiasm, #16). In particular, Ouyang found the *Xiang* statement of “Yu” revealing. Commenting on this *Xiang* statement, which refers to an ancient king offering sacrifices to the deities,⁹¹ his comment reads:

In here, we see the purpose of the sage [in ordering the world]. The sage worries about the world and rejoices for the world. When he rejoices, he makes sacrifices to the deities and ancestors above, not reserving anything for himself. It is because he sees his satisfaction [in ordering the world] in the satisfaction of the public [with their lives]. Since the sage sets his heart on working for everyone’s interest, he worries about the world and rejoices for the world.⁹²

In Ouyang Xiu and Hu Yuan, we find an unequivocal expression of the civil bureaucrats’ desire to participate in governing. We find that both of them use the *Yijing* to exhort the educated elite to join the Northern Song government to “corule” the empire. As members of the early Northern Song educated elite, they promoted a self-identity of civil bureaucrats which set them apart from their predecessors in the late Tang and the Five Dynasties Period.

4

Inner Roots of Ordering the World:

The Yijing of Zhang Zai, Sima Guang, and Shao Yong

[I am] to pursue the Will of Heaven and Earth, and the Way of the people; to continue the ancient learning of past sages; to work for harmony and peace for ten thousand generations to come.

—Zhang Zai, “Zhang zi yu lu,” *Zhang Zai ji*

The civil governance of Hu Yuan’s times stood on two pillars. One pillar was a policy that kept the military establishment at bay by constantly rotating military generals, and having the best armies stationed in the capital, Kaifeng, under the direct control of the emperor.¹ Another pillar was the aggressive recruitment of civil officials into the government through expanding the civil service examinations and granting appointments to relatives, dependents, and retainers of major civil officials. For the first six decades of Northern Song, these two pillars had produced remarkable results. The Song military generals no longer had the power like the Tang military governors to challenge the authority of the central government, and the civil officials were increasingly in control of the government believing that they ruled the empire with the emperor.²

But by the 1030s, as the civil bureaucrats like Fan Zhongyan, Ouyang Xiu, and Yin Zhu were increasingly vocal in demanding active participation in governing, problems began to arise. First of all, the constant rotation of military generals and the presence of a huge army in the capital added extra costs to the government expenditure. Worse still, the increase in military expenditure did not stop the Khitan Liao and the Jurchen Xixia from continuing to invade the Song’s northern and northwestern territories. To appease the two northern neighbors,

the Song government offered them annual contributions, adding yet another burden to the government's finances. Meanwhile, the expansion in the size of the civil bureaucracy was causing problems as well. The number of civil bureaucrats entering into the government was so large that sinecure positions had to be created to keep them employed. This expansion in the size of the bureaucracy not only led to red tape and inefficiency, but also to a large increase in the government payroll.

Hence, two reforms—one led by Fan Zhongyan and the other by Wang Anshi—were carried out respectively in the 1040s and in the 1060s to address these military, bureaucratic, and financial problems. Despite their differences in emphasis and in scope, the goals of these two reforms were similar. They were to resolve the problems of the “three excesses”—the excessive size of the army (*rongbin*), the excessive number of officials in the government (*rongguan*), and the excessive government spending (*rongfei*).³ For Fan Zhongyan, his “ten-point” reform focused on tightening the standards for the recruitment of civil officials, streamlining the procedures for advancement in central government, improving provincial administration, and upholding local law and order by creating militias among the peasants.⁴ Although Fan's reform lasted only for one and half years from 1043 to 1044, his reform was significant, according to James T. C. Liu, “as the first attempt to improve on a system that had been largely unchanged and uncriticized since the beginning of the Song.”⁵ Wang Anshi's reform, by contrast, was larger in scope and more revolutionary in intent. Lasting for almost two decades from 1068 to 1085, Wang's reform addressed the problems of the “three excesses” by overhauling the structure of the bureaucracy, the military, and the economy. It included replacing the civil service examination system with a nationwide school system; strengthening national defense by conscription and better methods to rear horses; establishing the Finance Planning Commission to centralize economic planning; and creating various programs to regulate trade, currency exchange, and the market.⁶ As Peter Bol has pointed out, the enormous scope of Wang's reform was in effect to alter the nature of the Northern Song government. The reform was intended to build an activist government “which sought to manage social and economic development in the interest of all.”⁷

Born in 1020, Zhang Zai spent all of his adult life witnessing the implementation of these two reforms. Although he was too young to participate in Fan Zhongyan's reform and was dead while Wang Anshi's reform was still underway, his life coincided with the mid-Northern

Song's attempts to refurbish civil governance. In this chapter, we will examine Zhang Zai's *Yijing* commentary in the context of mid-Northern Song reforms and their impact on the self-identity of the educated elite. At the end of the chapter, we will compare Zhang's commentary with those of his contemporaries, Sima Guang and Shao Yong, to evaluate his contribution as an *Yijing* exegete.

Zhang Zai: The Man

Zhang Zai, also known as Zhang Hengqu and *Hengqu xiansheng* (Master Hengqu), lived in Hengqu, a small town of Mei county in Fengxiang prefecture (modern-day Shaanxi province).⁸ For generations, Zhang Zai's ancestors lived in Daliang (Kaifeng of modern-day Henan province), east of Hengqu. It appeared that as far back as the mid-Tang, none of Zhang's ancestors was a scholar-official. But the fortune of the family changed during the early Northern Song. During the reigns of Emperors Zhenzong and Renzong, Zhang's grandfather and father, respectively, became government officials.⁹ Apparently a result of the two Northern Song emperors' aggressive efforts to recruit civil bureaucrats into the government, the Zhang family won the status of the educated elite.

Zhang Zai was associated with Hengqu for two reasons. The first was that his family took up residence in the small town after the sudden death of his father while serving as the town's official. The second was that in his later life Zhang Zai returned to Hengqu, spending his retirement years teaching students and composing philosophical treatises. Because of his long association with Hengqu, which was located in the Guanzhong region between the two elbows of the Yellow River, the school of thought initiated by Zhang Zai was often known as *guanxue* (The school of thought of the *Guan* region).¹⁰

In Zhang Zai's early life, he was very much in the public service mode that Hu Yuan advocated in the *Zhouyi kouyi*. In 1040, when Fan Zhongyan was directing a military expedition against the Xixia in the Northwest, the twenty-one-year-old Zhang wrote a letter to him offering tactics to defeat the nomadic group.¹¹ However, Fan was not impressed by Zhang's military suggestions, though he was convinced that the junior was more a talented thinker than a military strategist. As a token of encouragement, Fan hand copied the *Doctrine of the Mean* for Zhang and asked him to devote himself to Confucian studies.¹² Neither the hand-copied *Doctrine of the Mean* nor Fan's lukewarm

response had much direct impact on the young Zhang. At the time, he did not find the *Doctrine of the Mean* appealing—although later in life he developed a keen interest in the text and built his philosophy based on a close study of it. Against Fan's advice, he did not immediately launch himself into Confucian studies; instead, for several years, he turned to Buddhism and Daoism for inspiration.¹³

According to some biographers, the major turning point of Zhang Zai's intellectual development occurred in his meeting, around 1056 in Kaifeng, with the two Cheng brothers—Cheng Hao and Cheng Yi. As the story goes, after an intense discussion with the two Cheng brothers, he reportedly came to the realization that Confucianism was superior to both Buddhism and Daoism. From then on, he devoted himself wholeheartedly to Confucian studies.¹⁴ In some accounts, perhaps to further highlight the significance that meeting with the two Cheng brothers had for Zhang, the biographers describe Zhang as being impressed by the two brothers' reading of the *Yijing*, so much so that he asked his *Yijing* students to study with the two brothers.¹⁵

Whether or not these stories about Zhang Zai's meeting with the two Cheng brothers are true, the text that we are about to examine, the *Hengqu yishuo* (An explanation of the meaning of *Yi* [by a reader] from Hengqu), was probably composed in 1056–1057, when Zhang was lecturing on the *Yijing* in Kaifeng. In the *Hengqu yishuo*, Zhang focused his attention primarily on the *Xici*, offering lengthy comments on each *Xici* statement. Sometimes his comments are as long as a few paragraphs, leaving no stone unturned in explaining the nuances of a single *Xici* statement. In contrast, his comments on the sixty-four hexagrams are brief, oftentimes offering no comment at all to hexagram statements and line statements. His preference for the *Xici* over the sixty-four hexagrams is a key characteristic of his approach to the *Yijing*, and we will discuss the significance of this characteristic a little later.¹⁶

Zhang Zai won the title of *jin shi* (presented literatus) in 1058. But due to the large number of civil bureaucrats already in the bureaucracy, the government had difficulty assigning government posts to new successful examinees. For several years, Zhang had to make do with a low-ranking job as a county official. During his tenure as a county official, he hosted monthly dinners to honor the elderly, and made certain that government policies were accurately communicated to every villager.¹⁷ At times, he was asked to give lectures at the district academy (*junxue*). Partly to express his frustration with the

government's inability to assign jobs to new successful examinees, once he admonished his audience: "Can you people set your heart less on the civil service examinations and devote yourselves more to the realms of Yao and Shun?"¹⁸ A discouraging statement indeed to those young and aspiring students, but it pointed out a common problem that many mid-Northern Song scholars were facing. To the disappointment of Zhang Zai and some of his contemporaries, the civil service examinations were no longer effective as a ladder of success and as a channel for the educated elite to rule the empire with the emperor.

In 1069, Zhang was summoned by the young and aggressive Emperor Shenzong to serve in the court. During Zhang's brief service in the imperial court, the Grand Councilor Wang Anshi began to carry out his drastic reforms of the bureaucracy, the military, and government finance. Eager to listen to different opinions, Emperor Shenzong invited Zhang to offer advice to Wang on his two-year-old reform. Showing his lack of political skill, Zhang was blunt when he had a chance to speak with Wang face to face. He praised him for initiating drastic reforms to reshape the government, but he criticized him for being too ambitious in his reforms, covering areas that were beyond his expertise. Employing an analogy to make his point, he told Wang that his reforms could not be successful when the laymen were telling the experts how to chisel and carve jades. His blunt comment angered Wang, and he was forced to retire shortly after that conversation.¹⁹

During his retirement, he lived in Hengqu and finished his most important work, *Zheng meng* (Correcting Youthful Ignorance). Although not intended to be a commentary on the *Yijing*, the *Zheng meng* was closely tied to the classic for two reasons. The first was the title of the work. It was based on the *Tuan* statement of Hexagram "Meng" (Youth Folly, #4), which said: "It is a sagely task to correct youthful folly."²⁰ Drawing upon the *Tuan* statement, Zhang intended his work to be a ratification of what he considered as wrongdoings of his times. The second was the content of the work. Divided into seventeen chapters, the *Zheng meng* dealt with a number of issues, ranging from cosmology to ethics to rituals. For those chapters that focused on cosmology—such as chapter 1 "Tai he" (Supreme Harmony), chapter 2 "Can liang" (Numbers Three and Two), chapter 3 "Tian dao" (Way of Heaven), chapter 14 "Da yi" (Great Change), and chapter 17 "Qian chen" (Qian's Name)—they all contained excerpts from Zhang Zai's commentary on the *Yijing*, particularly his commentary on the *Xici*. In these chapters, we find Zhang Zai the moral thinker who wanted to

recover the mind and heart of heaven and earth, and the metaphysician who argued that the universe is composed of *qi*.²¹

Yan Hui's Moral Cultivation

As mentioned earlier, in the *Hengqu yishuo* Zhang Zai focused on the *Xici* rather than the sixty-four hexagrams. In commenting on the hexagrams, he did not comment on every hexagram statement and line statement; instead, he only offered remarks whenever he felt it necessary. Of some hexagrams, such as “Tongren” (Fellowship, #13), “Yu” (Enthusiasm, #16), “Jiji” (Completion, #63) and “Weiwei” (Incompletion, #64), he wrote merely a few lines, leaving much unexplained. But for other hexagrams, for example, “Qian” (The Creative, #1), “Fu” (Return, #24), “Xian” (Reciprocity, #31), and “Dazhuang” (Power of the Great, #34), he wrote lengthy comments, sometimes even pages, to elucidate a single line statement.

One of those line statements that received Zhang Zai’s special attention is the second line statement of “Qian”—“Hidden Dragon. Do Not Act.” As we recall, Hu Yuan also found the line statement important. Taking the line statement to mean not to hide on mountains like a hermit, Hu Yuan used the line statement to criticize the practice of eremitism during the Five Dynasties Period and the early decades of the Northern Song. For Zhang Zai, on the other hand, the line statement had nothing to do with eremitism. Rather, “Hidden Dragon” referred to Yan Hui who, according to the *Analects*, earned Confucius’s praise by engaging wholeheartedly in moral cultivation. To explain the meaning of the line statement, Zhang wrote:

Confucius liked his students not to join the government until they had completed their moral cultivation. [He feared that] without completing their moral cultivation, the students could not act properly to produce constructive results. Hence, [he urged] them to hide and take no action, avoiding to show their virtue of being a dragon. . . . Yan Hui [is an example of] hiding himself while he possesses the virtue of being a dragon. He practices [what the *Doctrine of the Mean* describes as] “not regretting even if he retires from the world and becomes unknown to his age.” Indeed he is close to becoming a sage.²²

In explaining the meaning of “Hidden Dragon,” Zhang Zai calls attention to the story of Yan Hui (also known as Yan Yuan or Yan Zi, Master Yan). Depicted in the *Analects* and the *Doctrine of the Mean* as an extremely

self-motivated student, Yan Hui was engaged wholeheartedly in learning to be a sage.²³ Materially, he was in an uninviting situation—having only a single bamboo dish of rice, a single gourd dish of drink, and living in a mean narrow lane. But spiritually, he was always upbeat. Everyday he studied the classics, debated with his fellow classmates, and asked Confucius for advice. He was so self-critical that he earned a reputation for not committing the same mistake twice. Before his premature death, he was hopeful that his moral cultivation would bear results. For Zhang Zai, the story of Yan Hui is illuminating. It not only connects hexagram “Qian” with the *Analects* and the *Doctrine of the Mean*, but also underlines moral cultivation as the precondition for serving in government. Demonstrated in Yan Hui’s relentless quest for moral perfection in his brief life, moral cultivation is an end in itself that requires lifelong dedication. As shown in Yan Hui’s joy in his strenuous life, the reward of moral cultivation goes beyond the power and wealth of a successful examination candidate; it gives the person a new perspective on life and a mission to fulfill.

In the rest of his commentary on “Qian,” Zhang Zai continued to use the story of Yan Hui to interpret the other lines. For instance, in commenting on the second line of “Qian,” he explained why the line referred to “an emerging dragon in the field.”

One achieves moral perfection through ordinary speeches and acts. In ordinary speeches and acts, the virtue of the great man prevails and the results of human civilization become manifest. Yet, if a person does not exhaust the miraculous transformations and adjust to the needs of the time, he will be practicing rituals and acting righteously without knowing their original intents. That is why, in his quest for the virtue of a dragon, Yan Zi wants to be squarely in the middle. Constantly improving himself morally, he contemplates what lies behind [the rituals and the righteous actions]. He does not limit himself by following the conventions uncritically.²⁴

Instead of seeing the first two lines of “Qian” as a progression—that is, the “hidden dragon” of the first line developing into the “emerging dragon” of the second line—Zhang Zai considers them as describing different aspects of Yan Hui’s moral cultivation. While the “hidden dragon” stresses the importance of moral cultivation as the foundation of serving in government, the “emerging dragon” discusses the contents of Yan Hui’s moral cultivation. For him, Yan Hui’s moral cultivation involves both solitary contemplation and ritualized group

action. In the former, he gains an understanding of how rituals help to build one's moral character; in the latter, he puts his knowledge into practice in rituals and ceremonies. According to Zhang, the key point in the second line of "Qian" is that the "emerging dragon" is "in the field." That is, the "emerging dragon" learns to be morally perfect through the humdrum of daily life rather than by serving in government as an official.

In the same vein, Zhang Zai considered lines three, four, five, and six of "Qian" as different aspects of Yan Hui's moral cultivation. For him, these lines represent different situations Yan Hui experienced while engaging in moral cultivation. In lines three and four, Yan Hui faced a situation where he had a lot of doubts. To focus his mind, he followed his daily routine and learned to respond in a timely fashion.²⁵ In lines five and six, he was close to fully understanding his moral nature. For this reason, Zhang describes him as "a great man" (*daren*) after spending all those years in moral cultivation. However, Zhang is not sure whether he has become "a sage" (*shengren*), because for Zhang a sage belongs to a completely different category not measurable by tangible results.²⁶

Idiosyncratic as it may seem, there is both internal and external support for Zhang Zai's reading of "Qian." Internally, there is textual evidence in the *Yijing* that links Yan Hui to the classic. In part 2 of the *Xici*, Confucius is reported to have used the first line statement of the hexagram "Fu" (Return, #24) to discuss Yan Hui's moral cultivation.²⁷ Highlighting the fact that Yan Hui did not commit the same mistake twice—the same story that is found in chapter 6 of the *Analects*—Confucius is said to have cited him to illustrate the importance of returning to one's innate good nature through rigorous moral training. But this textual evidence alone would not have given Zhang Zai the liberty to render "Qian" in the way he did. First, in the *Xici*, Yan Hui is invoked to discuss "Fu," not "Qian." Second, in Kong Yingda's subcommentary on the *Xici* line, he made it clear that Yan Hui was a relatively insignificant figure in the pantheon of Confucian sages. According to Kong, Yan Hui was at best a sage of the second rank (*ya sheng*) who was yet to understand the miraculous transformations of the universe.²⁸

Another support for Zhang Zai's reading came from the cult of Yan Hui during the mid-Northern Song. Zhou Dunyi promoted Yan Hui as Confucius's favorite student who personified the best of Confucian learning.²⁹ Using this extremely self-motivated man as a model,

Zhou called on his students (Cheng Yi included) “to desire what Yi Yin desired and to learn what Yan Zi learned.”³⁰ The goal of this cult of Yan Hui was to redefine the nature of Confucian learning. In earlier times, learning was understood by Confucian scholars as learning to be a loyal government official. Serving the human community by assuming a high-ranking political post was regarded as the direct way to materialize the Confucian goal. Hence, successful prime ministers (such as Yi Yin of the Shang Dynasty in the seventeenth century B.C.E.) rather than the lone souls like Yan Hui were considered to be exemplary students of Confucius. By promoting Yan Hui as the true student of Confucius, Zhou Dunyi redefined Confucian learning as an individual quest for moral perfection. Perfecting himself in a mean desolate lane, Yan Hui personified a moral learning that had to be undertaken by an individual, not in the collective enterprise of running a government. Of course, serving the human community by joining the government remained for Zhou an admirable way to connect with the universe; but the starting point of learning had changed. While he still urged his students to “desire what Yi Yin desired,” he called on them to first “learn what Yan Zi learned.”

A nephew of Zhang Zai, Cheng Yi had written an essay, “A treatise on what Yanzi loved to learn” (*Yanzi suohao hexue lun*), discussing Yan Hui’s joy in his brief and strenuous life. In his essay, Cheng Yi gave a systematic response to Zhou Dunyi’s call for learning from Yan Hui. He described Yan Hui as the one who understood human destiny not in terms of material comfort or personal gain, but in terms of the full activation of innate human goodness. He explained Yan Hui’s method of moral cultivation, which included both a “firm faith in the Way” and a determination to practice proper behavior including right seeing, right listening, right speech, and right movement. According to Cheng Yi, it was Yan Hui’s *inward* self-reflection and *outward* conformity to strict rituals that made him so dear to Confucius, who shed tears when he heard of his premature death.³¹

Although we have no evidence of Zhang Zai being directly influenced by Zhou Dunyi and Cheng Yi, it is clear that Zhang’s reading of “Qian” was in tune with the cult of Yan Hui in the mid-Northern Song. Like Zhou and Cheng, he stressed the need for an inward turning and a strict observance of rituals in moral cultivation. Like them, he attempted to make an individual’s quest for moral perfection the most important part of Confucian learning. Unconventional as it might seem, Zhang’s reading of “Qian” would have made sense to many of his

contemporaries, particularly those who were frustrated by their poor prospects for serving in the government due to keen competition in the civil service examinations and the surplus of successful examinees. Instead of aiming at joining the bureaucracy to rule the empire (as Hu Yuan had suggested), Zhang called on the educated elite to acquire the proper moral perspective before joining the bureaucracy. He suggested that they look at their coruling of the empire more broadly. In addition to understanding coruling the empire *politically*, as joining the government, they should also consider coruling the empire *socially*, by such actions as setting an example in following rituals, promoting social harmony through conducting ceremonies, and encouraging an interest in Confucian morality in society at large.

Control the Wandering Mind

For Zhang Zai, Yan Hui found fulfillment in his moral cultivation because he gained control of his life. Instead of judging himself by his rank in the government, Yan Hui measured his success by the extent to which he controlled his mind. In commenting on the top line of “Ge” (Revolution, #49), Zhang took the opportunity to discuss Yan Hui’s dramatic transformation after he spent years in moral cultivation. On the surface, Zhang seems to have chosen the wrong hexagram to discuss Yan Hui’s moral transformation. First, conventionally “Ge” was interpreted as a hexagram about political revolution. In the *Zhouyi zhu*, for instance, Wang Bi linked “Ge” with its following hexagram “Ding” (The Caldron, #50) to discuss a change of government. For Wang Bi, “Ge” discusses the toppling of an ineffective government and “Ding” concerns the reestablishment of political order.³² Expanding on Wang Bi’s interpretation, Kong Yingda reiterated the theme of political revolution in his subcommentary on “Ge.”³³ And, as discussed in the last chapter, during the early Northern Song, Ouyang Xiu continued to interpret “Ge” as revolution against a tyrant king. Against this long-standing tradition of reading “Ge” as political revolution, Zhang Zai had to be creative to turn “Ge” into a discussion of moral transformation. Second, the line statement of the top line of “Ge” appears to have little to do with moral cultivation. Rather, it discusses changes in physical appearance—the superior man is said to change like a leopard, and the inferior man is described as having changes in his face.³⁴ Based on the literal meaning of the statement, it appears difficult to turn it into a discussion of moral transformation.

For Zhang Zai, to understand the top line of “Ge” we need to remember that physical appearance is the externalization of one’s state of mind. From the changes in one’s physical appearance, he asserted, we are able to tell the changes in that person’s state of mind. Hence, equating Yan Hui with the superior man, he considered the superior man’s physical change in the top line of “Ge” as a sign of Yan Hui’s moral accomplishment.

The appearance of a great virtue can only be found in Yan Hui and Mencius. After years of hard work, the changes in Yan Hui must be drastic. That is like what we commonly say “the superior man changes like a tiger.”³⁵ In “the change like a tiger,” we see traces of a drastic change. The traces are so real that, even without divination, its authenticity is unquestionable.³⁶

To further substantiate his point that physical appearance is a sign of one’s state of mind, in the rest of the commentary Zhang Zai quotes from the *Tuan* statement of “Gen” (Keeping Still, #52), which says: “Keeping Still means stopping. When it is time to stop, then stop. When it is time to advance, then advance. Thus movement and rest do not miss the right time, and their course becomes bright and clear.”³⁷ For him, the *Tuan* statement of “Gen” implies that after years of moral cultivation, someone like Yan Hui will “become bright and clear” and subsequently undergo a substantial change in physical appearance. The change in physical appearance indicates that after a long period of moral cultivation, the person succeeds in focusing his mind on things important.³⁸

The *Tuan* statement of “Gen” appears frequently in Zhang Zai’s commentary on the sixty-four hexagrams. It is a line, he thought, that succinctly summarizes the importance of controlling one’s mind. For instance, in commenting on the hexagram statement of “Gen,” he invokes the hexagram’s *Tuan* statement to explain why someone could not see people in his courtyard:³⁹

Even if one is in a noisy environment, it does not prevent him from practicing moral cultivation. Someone in this environment may achieve what he wants in days; others may not achieve anything at the end of the day. But having practiced moral cultivation for a period of time, eventually one can accomplish a great deal.⁴⁰

For Zhang Zai, the hexagram statement does not refer to an absent-minded person who is lost in day dreaming at home. On the contrary, it describes a person’s accomplishment in moral cultivation, whose

mind is so focused that he no longer sees or hears anything in the noisy courtyard. To give further support to his interpretation, immediately following this general discussion Zhang quotes the hexagram's *Tuan* statement to highlight the importance of mental concentration.

As the *Tuan* statement says, "Keeping Still means stopping. When it is time to stop, then stop. When it is time to advance, then advance. Thus movement and rest do not miss the right time, and their course becomes bright and clear." In moral cultivation, one should move and rest according to the needs of the time, so that the Way will not be hidden. Nowadays, some people have little progress after engaging in moral cultivation for a period of time. The reason is that they do not know when to move and when to rest. In fact, they are easily distracted by noisy discussions with nothing to do with them. How can they succeed in moral cultivation like that?⁴¹

As this example shows, the *Tuan* statement of "Gen" was extremely important to Zhang Zai. By frequently quoting it in his commentary on the sixty-four hexagrams, he treated it as a capsule statement of the *Yijing*, summarizing its essence in a brief line. For him, the *Tuan* statement of "Gen" captures the essence of the *Yijing* in two ways. First, it highlights the importance of moral cultivation in the *Yijing*, reminding readers that there is a strong moral dimension in the classic. Second, the *Tuan* statement of "Gen" reveals the implicit connection between the *Yijing* and other Confucian writings such as the *Great Learning*. A chapter in the *Book of Rites* (*Liji*), the *Great Learning* lays out systematically the steps involved in moral cultivation. In its opening paragraph, it identifies eight discrete steps in moral cultivation: the illumination of virtue, treating people with affection, resting in perfect goodness, knowing where to settle, knowing how to become tranquil, knowing how to be at peace, knowing how to reflect, and knowing how to attain profound understanding.⁴² As de Bary points out, by identifying these eight steps the *Great Learning* sets forth "a series of links connecting intellectual and moral cultivation on the part of the individual with the establishment of harmony in the family, order in the state, and peace in the world."⁴³ In the *Yijing* Zhang Zai was hard pressed to find the equivalent of this discussion of specific steps in moral cultivation. But in the *Tuan* statement of "Gen" he found something that was the equivalent of the opening lines of the *Great Learning*. In one short line, it defined moral cultivation as controlling one's behavior according to the needs of the time.

Connecting the Yijing with the Great Learning

Occasionally Zhang Zai's attempt to link the *Yijing* with the *Great Learning* looks tentative. Take, for example, his comments on the *Tuan* statement of "Daxu" (Taming Power of the Great, #26). To explain the meaning of "Daxu," the *Tuan* statement refers to the hexagram's image.⁴⁴ Consisting of a "Qian" trigram (three *yang* line) at the bottom and a "Gen" trigram (two *yin* lines and one *yang* line) at the top, "Daxu" symbolizes the rise of the *yang* force from the bottom displacing the *yin* force in the middle. Accordingly, the *Tuan* statement suggests that "the taming power of the great" derives from the three *yang* lines at the bottom which, with the assistance of the *yang* line at the very top, ascend together in opposition to the two *yin* lines in the middle. As a whole, the *Tuan* statement appears to have little to do with moral cultivation, let alone focusing one's mind on things important. Nevertheless, in his commentary Zhang Zai found a way to link the hexagram with the *Great Learning*. And, as expected, the *Tuan* statement of "Gen" was the bridge between the hexagram and the *Great Learning*.

The *yang* trigram ascends and receives support from the *yang* line at the very top. Thus, [the *Tuan* statement says:] "Firmness and strength. Genuineness and Truth. Brilliance and light." Those engaging in moral cultivation often let their minds wander and spread themselves too thin on unimportant matters. [They do not know that] the best results come when their minds are focused. . . . In the *Yijing*, "Gen" stands for stopping. If one stops his mind from wandering, then he will be bright and clear. . . . If one is at rest, then he will be bright and clear. Thus the *Great Learning* speaks of one being able to reflect when he is at peace. If a person's mind wanders, he will not be bright and clear.⁴⁵

Similar to what he does regarding the hexagram statement of "Gen," in this commentary Zhang Zai focuses on the *Yijing* statement that makes reference to brightness, brilliance, and light. For him, all *Yijing* statements that describe light and color have to be taken allegorically. They do not merely describe light and color, but also reveal a profound change in the person's state of mind. Hence, the first part of the *Tuan* statement of "Daxu"—"Firmness and strength. Genuineness and Truth. Brilliance and light"—reminds him of both the *Great Learning* and the *Tuan* statement of "Gen." Although not stated anywhere in the *Tuan* statement of "Daxu," he believes that the only way for one to have

brilliance and light is to control one's mind. To hide the gaps between the original statement and his commentary, he cites the *Great Learning* and the *Tuan* statement of "Gen" as if they are derived naturally from "Daxu."

Even though Zhang Zai's attempt to link the *Yijing* with the *Great Learning* occasionally looks tentative, he succeeded in transforming the *Yijing* into a classic of morality. This transformation is significant if we recall how the *Yijing* was read before Zhang Zai. As mentioned earlier, in the *Zhouyi zhengyi* Kong Yingda read the *Yijing* as a political text. Stressing the need for a powerful central government headed by an absolute king, Kong gave readers the impression that the *Yijing* primarily concerns the art of governing. Certainly Kong would not deny the moral aspects of the *Yijing*, but in his reading the moral aspects were always subsumed under his discussions of the art of governing. This political reading of the *Yijing* continued in the Northern Song. Despite his criticisms of Kong Yingda, Hu Yuan still read the *Yijing* as a political text. Although he had a different perspective from Kong on how to run the government, by and large he treated the *Yijing* as a classic on governing, giving advice to high officials in the government. The same is true of Li Gou and Ouyang Xiu. Whereas they had different perspectives of the relationship between the emperor and the official, they read the *Yijing* as a political text, elucidating the principle of ruling the empire. In this context, what Zhang Zai wanted to achieve in the *Hengqu yishuo* is significant. It was, in effect, an attempt to break from the longstanding tradition of reading the *Yijing* politically. By linking the classic with the *Great Learning* and the *Doctrine of the Mean*, he focused readers' attention on the moral dimensions of the *Yijing* that had been suppressed in previous commentaries. In this regard, while his reading of the *Yijing* might not always be convincing, he definitely gave the classic a new look.

To fully appreciate Zhang Zai's contribution, let us consider his commentary on "Dazhuang" (Power of the Great, #34). Based on the two trigrams of "Dazhuang"—a heaven (*qian*, three *yang* lines) at the bottom and thunder (*zhen*, one *yang* line underneath two *yin* lines) at the top—the *Xiang* statement calls on the readers to act in accordance with the accepted rites.⁴⁶ In reading the *Xiang* statement, Zhang Zai found another example where the authors of the *Yijing* discussed moral cultivation. He wrote:

One needs great [mental] power "to return to the observance of the rites through overcoming the self." In "Dazhuang" of the *Yijing*, we

have an idea of the great power [we need to overcome ourselves]. . . . With respect to [the *Xiang* statement:] “Thunder in heaven above: the image of The Power of the Great. Thus the superior man does not tread upon paths that do not accord with accepted rituals,” an example is found in a person who refuses to drink pure wine even though he is thirsty. Another example is a person who refuses to join a dinner party even though he is hungry. In both cases, it requires a strong will to do what ordinary people fail to do. . . . Thus, one needs great [mental] power to overcome oneself. By using his great power to overcome himself, the superior man teaches the world by setting an example.⁴⁷

Showing his strong interest in the story of Yan Hui, Zhang Zai relates the *Xiang* statement to Yan’s discussion with Confucius on benevolence (*ren*). Appearing in chapter 6 of the *Analects*, Yan Hui asks Confucius how to achieve benevolence. In response, Confucius tells him “to return to the observance of the rites through overcoming the self.” To further elaborate on the importance of overcoming oneself through following the rites, Confucius states: “If for a single day one could return to the observance of the rites through overcoming himself, then the whole world will return to benevolence. However, the practice of benevolence depends on oneself, and not on others.”⁴⁸ In his commentary, Zhang Zai links the *Xiang* statement of “Dazhuang” with the *Analects* by making Confucius’s admonition to Yan Hui—“returning to the observance of the rites through overcoming oneself”—the main theme of his commentary. Offering two examples of refusing to eat and drink in an improper manner, he underlines the importance of having a strong will to bring oneself to observe the rites. For him, the two examples demonstrate that the observance of the rites is not only to follow an accepted code of behavior to enhance social harmony, it is also to train one’s mind to control one’s physical desires.

The Cosmology of Qi

Turning to Zhang Zai’s commentary on the *Xici*, on several occasions he explained why he considered the *Xici* the most important part of the *Yijing*. At one time, he told his followers: “The *Xici* reiterates the fact the *Yijing* is a classic of changes. It summarizes various parts of the classic and explains its main teaching to readers of later generations.”⁴⁹ At another time, he said: “If someone reads the *Yijing* without first thoroughly comprehending the *Xici*, he will find the classic discussing matters too distant or too close to him. He will find the classic

difficult to understand.”⁵⁰ To drive home his point, he gave an analogy: “Attempting to read the *Yijing* without knowing the *Xici* would be as fruitless as studying the *Spring and Autumn Annals* without knowing the rites.”⁵¹ These few remarks help to explain why Zhang Zai was so thorough in commenting on the *Xici*. Not only did he comment on every line of the *Xici* (as opposed to his brief and sketchy comments on the sixty-four hexagrams), he also wrote profusely on many parts of it. For him, the essence of the *Yijing* lies in the *Xici* rather than in the sixty-four hexagrams.

An area in which Zhang Zai found the *Xici* particularly inspiring was its discussion of *qi* (cosmic vital force).⁵² In reading the *Xici* II statement: “Heaven and earth come together in a mist, and the ten thousand things take shape and find form. Male and female mix their seed, and the ten thousand things take shape and are born,”⁵³ Zhang Zai believed that it described the movement of *qi*.

Qi, filling up the Great Vacuity, never ceases in ascending, descending, and floating in the sky. This is exactly what the *Yi* says “coming together in a mist,” and what the *Zhuangzi* says “the living things are blown with air” and “the wild horse.” This is the trigger of vacuity and concreteness, and of movement and stillness. This is the origin of the *yin* and the *yang*, and of firm and soft. That which floats on top is the purity of the *yang*. That which descends below is the impurity of the *yin*. The mutual responses and the coalescence of the *yin* and the *yang* give rise to wind and rain, and frost and snow. The flowing shapes of the ten thousand kinds, the dissolution and the congealing of mountains and rivers, dregs and ashes, are all objects of learning.⁵⁴

For Zhang Zai, “the mist” in this *Xici* statement denotes the fundamental nature of the universe. It signifies a vital force which, invisible but real, circulates constantly in the universe like dust. This vital force, known as *qi*, is the basic constituent of the universe. By its unceasing dispersion and condensation, *qi* gives rise to a series of opposites: vacuity versus concreteness, movement versus stillness, firmness versus softness, and so on. All these pairs of opposites, collectively known as the *yin* and the *yang*, are the source of motion of the universe. With this understanding, one can turn around and see all tangible objects as concrete manifestations of *qi*’s dispersion and condensation. All tangible objects, be they mountains and rivers, or dregs and ashes, are results of *qi*’s constant activity.

To illustrate how the dispersion and condensation of *qi* can give

rise to manifold forms of existence, Zhang Zai asks us to think about the freezing and melting of ice. When frozen, water is solidified into ice; when melted, ice turns into water. With respect to their shape and size, ice and water are drastically different. But if we consider what they are made of, they are water through and through. It is on this basis that Zhang Zai criticized earlier exegetes who had interpreted the *Yijing* based on the dichotomy of *you* and *wu*.

The integration and disintegration of *qi* is to the Great Vacuity as the freezing and melting of ice is to water. If we realize that the Great Vacuity is identical with *qi*, we know that there is no such thing as *wu*. Therefore, when discussing the ultimate problems of the nature of things and the Way of Heaven, the sage limits himself to the marvelous changes and transformations of the *yin* and the *yang* and the Five Agents (of Metal, Wood, Water, Fire, and Earth). The doctrine of those superficial and mistaken philosophers who draw distinction between *you* and *wu* is not the way to investigate to the utmost.⁵⁵

In the quote, Zhang Zai did not specify who “those superficial and mistaken philosophers” were. Yet, considering the prominence of the *Zhouyi zhengyi* in the Northern Song and its strong emphasis in its *Xici* commentary on the reversion of *you* to *wu*, it is likely that he must have had Han Kangbo and Kong Yingda in mind. But what concerns us here is not whether Zhang Zai aimed his criticism specifically at Han and Kong, but what new insights we can draw from Zhang’s attempt to reject the reversion of *you* to *wu*.

From this quote, at least two observations can be made. First, Zhang Zai believed that all dualities (be they *yin* and *yang*, *you* and *wu*) are merely different forms of *qi*. For him, dualities do not constitute the grounds for making primary-secondary distinction, or identifying one as the foundational and the other as the derivative. Whether things are visible or invisible, tangible or intangible, finite or infinite, part or whole, they are *qi* through and through. Hence, for Zhang Zai, earlier *Yijing* scholars have made a mistake because they invented a series of dualities (e.g., *you* and *wu*) in interpreting the classic. Second, precisely because all the dualities are in essence different manifestations of *qi*, each pole of the dualities always has access to the other pole. For instance, one knows the invisible from the visible, or understands the infinite from the perspective of the finite. Regardless of what perspective one assumes, one is watching *qi* in motion. Hence, earlier *Yijing* exegetes have made a mistake in focusing on the invisible rather than

the visible, the whole rather than parts, and the infinite rather than the finite, without knowing that all of them are interchangeable.⁵⁶

To further elucidate this continuous flow of *qi* in the universe, Zhang Zai offered a different reading of the *Xici* I statement “What is above form is called Dao; what is within form is called tool.” As discussed in chapter 2, in the *Zhouyi zhengyi*, Han Kangbo and Kong Yingda use this *Xici* statement to support the distinction of two levels of existence. They equate “what is within form” with *you*, the phenomenal world in which we live. They interpret “what is above form” as *wu*, the web of relationships that bind together everything in this universe.⁵⁷ Taken together, they render the *Xici* statement as an exhortation to reversing from *you* to *wu*. In contrast, Zhang Zai reads the *Xici* statement as follows:

Things that are “above form” are known as the Way. The Way is that in which what is visible and invisible, tangible and intangible are not clearly differentiated. Notice that *qi* emerges out of this undifferentiated state, and it unifies *you* with *wu*. In the state of *wu*, *qi* is produced naturally. This [natural production of *qi*] is the Way and the essence of change.⁵⁸

In some respects, Zhang Zai’s interpretation of the *Xici* statement reminds us of Hu Yuan’s. As discussed in chapter 3, in commenting on the same *Xici* statement, Hu Yuan also upholds “the Way” (*Dao*) as the supreme category about the universe, thereby eliminating the dichotomy of *you* and *wu*.⁵⁹ But, there is one fundamental difference between the two commentators. In his attempt to eliminate the dichotomy of *you* and *wu*, and to describe the universe as organic and ever changing, Hu Yuan does not go far enough to pinpoint the source of motion of the universe. On the other hand, Zhang Zai develops a cosmology of *qi* to offer an explanation of how the universe sets in motion and how its movement is directly related to humankind.

Moral Metaphysics

Based on his cosmology of *qi*, Zhang Zai did not consider the *Xici* as a pointer, directing our attention from what is derivative to what is foundational, as Han Kangbo and Kong Yingda had suggested. Instead, it was a text in which “heaven and man should not be artificially divided.”⁶⁰ For him, an overtly metaphysical passage in the *Xici* always carried a hidden moral implication; conversely, an apparently mun-

dane utterance might carry metaphysical meanings. To demonstrate the indivisibility of heaven and man, he made deliberate efforts in his commentary to render the metaphysical metaphors of the *Xici* into common human experiences. For instance, in commenting on the *Xici* statement “the firm and the yielding rub each other” (*gang rou xiang mo*),⁶¹ he did not read the statement as a discussion of the *yin-yang* interaction, as many commentators had done; on the contrary, he read it as a discussion of breathing.

In terms of human behavior, the mutual rubbing of the firm and the soft is breathing. When *qi* [meaning both air and the cosmic vital force] is discharged and inhaled, the *qi* coming from the top and the *qi* coming from the bottom rub and interact with each other. This can be seen in breathing through the nose. From the nose, *qi* goes into the stomach after the mutual rubbing of the firm and soft. It travels back to the mouth after the digestion of food.⁶²

To fully appreciate Zhang Zai’s originality in interpreting this *Xici* statement, let us compare his reading with Kong Yingda’s. In the *Zhouyi zhengyi*, building on Han Kangbo’s interpretation, Kong emphasized the metaphysical implication of this statement. His subcommentary goes like this: “With respect to phenomenal transformation, [this statement] means the *yang* is transformed into the *yin* after reaching its limits, and the *yin* is transformed into the *yang* after reaching its limits. From the firm *yang* to the soft *yin*, and from the soft *yin* to the firm *yang*, the firm and the soft rub each other to give rise to the manifold transformations.”⁶³ By identifying the soft and the firm as the *yin* and the *yang* respectively, Kong read the *Xici* statement from a cosmological perspective, viewing it as a description of the interaction of two vital forces in the universe. In contrast, Zhang Zai brought the statement closer to the reader by rendering it as a discussion of breathing through the nose. Relating the statement to a physical action that all human beings must do every moment, he pointed out that the air inhaled and exhaled through the nose is the vital force *qi*. As *qi* travels from the outside into the human body, and then from the human body back to the outside, Zhang argued, human beings are not only physically connected with but also embody the entire universe.

With such a strong emphasis on the indivisibility of heaven and man, Zhang Zai offered his eleventh-century readers a new interpretation of the *Xici*. A case in point is Zhang Zai’s commentary on the *Xici* I statement “That which has a *yin* and a *yang* is called the Way”:

The Way is one *yin* and one *yang*. Goodness is the human capacity to embody the Way on a regular basis without end. Goodness is to denote the human capability to continue the Way. To complete and achieve the Way, one has to rely on manifesting one's nature. This is what we call sagehood. . . . That "The people use it day by day and are not aware of it"⁶⁴ is because that which they are using is the Way through and through. Drinking, eating, and [the coupling of] a male and a female are natural. But we are not aware of it. From dawn to dusk, hundreds of actions take place, and they are all mutual responses among beings that escape our attention. Nowadays, neither do people examine their heart and mind, nor do they examine the mutual responses among beings. For this reason, many of them are drunkards when alive and dreamers when dead.⁶⁵

Again, we will see Zhang Zai's uniqueness as an *Yijing* exegete if we compare his comment on this *Xici* statement with those of Han Kangbo and Kong Yingda. As discussed in chapter 2, for Han and Kong, this *Xici* statement describes the complex relationship of two realms of existence—the visible, tangible, and sensible world that we experience every day, and the web of relationships that connects everything in this world into one system. For them, "a *yin* and a *yang*" in the *Xici* statement do not mean that numerically there is a single *yin* and a single *yang* in this universe; rather, they mean both in the *yin* state and the *yang* state, the same totality of the universe makes its presence known. For Zhang Zai, however, the *Xici* statement defines the moral mission of man. Except for the first sentence in which he refers to the *yin* and the *yang* in passing, the discussion of cosmology disappears from the rest of his commentary. Instead, he focuses on moral metaphysics, that is, how in daily life one can sustain the perpetual dynamism of the universe.⁶⁶ For him, human beings are not only social beings, but also cosmic beings who carry the Way in their bodies and assume the mission of sustaining the ceaseless flow of *qi* in the universe. Hence, he introduces the term "goodness" (*shan*), not merely as an ethical category denoting human demeanor in society, but also as a moral metaphysical category referring to one's wholehearted devotion to keeping the cosmic flow alive and refreshed. From the perspective of moral metaphysics, any mundane human affair—including the satisfaction of human biological needs such as food, drink, and sex—is vital to the human mission to continue the cosmic flow. Each particular aspect of human life becomes potent with metaphysical meaning, and what appears to be moral and personal is in fact cosmic and transcendental.

With Zhang Zai's moral metaphysics in mind, one will see why later in his life he would have composed such a forceful and articulate essay as the "Western Inscription" (*Ximing*).⁶⁷ There, in concise language, he recapitulated not only his entire argument about moral metaphysics, but also his approach to the *Yijing*:

Heaven is my father and Earth is my mother, and even such a small creature as I finds an intimate place in their midst. Therefore, that which fills the universe I regard as my body and that which directs the universe I consider as my nature. All people are my brothers and sisters, and all things are my companions. . . . One who knows the principles of transformation will skillfully carry forward the undertakings [of Heaven and Earth], and one who penetrates spirit to the highest degree will skillfully carry out their will. Do nothing shameful in the recesses of your own house and thus bring no dishonor to them. Preserve your mind and nourish your nature and thus (serve them) with untiring effort. . . . In life I follow and serve [Heaven and Earth]. In death I will be at peace.⁶⁸

In the above, Zhang Zai gives us a different look at morality. As part of the ceaseless flow of *qi* in the universe, morality is understood metaphysically. It no longer means, as it did, human demeanor among one's peers or in one's society. Rather, it means one's wholehearted devotion to keeping the cosmic flow alive and refreshed. From this perspective, man has a direct link to the universe and to all beings, animate and inanimate. Man is not only a social being in need of communal life, but also a cosmic being forming fraternity with all things on earth. As "the guardians of the universe," using Tu Wei-ming's terms, human beings must seek moral perfection through self-cultivation.⁶⁹

The Heart and Mind of Heaven

In many instances, Zhang Zai's moral metaphysics gave him a distinct vantage point in reading the *Yijing*, and his belief in the moral mission of "the guardians of the universe" set him apart from other commentators. A prime example that shows his originality is his reading of the "Fu" hexagram (Return, #24). As discussed in chapter 2, Wang Bi considered "Fu" a key hexagram in understanding the need for reverting from the phenomenal world (*you*) to the principle of change in the universe (*wu*). There are two points that support Wang's reading. First, the hexagram consists of one *yang* line at the bottom and five *yin* lines at the top. Although the *yang* force is far outnumbered by the *yin* force

by five to one, “Fu” symbolizes the return of the *yang* force amidst the domination of the *yin* force. Second, the *Tuan* statement of “Fu” says: “In ‘Fu’ one sees the Heart and Mind of Heaven and Earth.”⁷⁰ It appears to suggest that besides describing the return of the *yang* force in the physical world, “Fu” actually offers a plea to *Yijing* readers to return mentally to the “Heart and Mind of Heaven and Earth” (*tiandi zhi xin*). Wang Bi appears to have taken this plea seriously. In his commentary, he equates the “Heart and Mind of Heaven and Earth” with *wu*, and interprets “Fu” as the reversion from *you* to *wu*.⁷¹ Similarly, Kong Yingda renders “Fu” as reversion. In his subcommentary, he lists a number of contrasting pairs, including activity versus tranquility, speech versus silence, and movement versus quiescence. With these contrasting pairs, he demonstrates that beyond the phenomenal world there is a web of relationships that binds everything into a system. In the former, one faces the hustle and bustle of *you*; in the latter, one attains spiritual tranquility in the realm of *wu*. To Kong, between these two realms of existence, the choice is clear. We will forever be perplexed by the constant changes in the physical world, unless we learn to look at the universe from the perspective of its totality (or *wu*).⁷²

Turning to Zhang Zai’s commentary, we find a different reading of “Fu.” Although in his commentary Zhang does not make reference to the commentaries of Wang Bi and Kong Yingda, he directly addresses their main argument. In explaining the meaning of “the Heart and Mind of Heaven and Earth,” Zhang Zai writes:

By and large, the “Heart and Mind of Heaven and Earth” refers to the virtue of Heaven and Earth in giving birth [to the myriad beings]. It describes the fundamental nature of Heaven and Earth as giving birth to the myriad things. . . . How can the movement of Heaven be stopped? What should one expect from being totally tranquil? The movement [in the return of the *yang* force] is a movement that takes place amidst tranquility. This movement amidst tranquility is a movement that will never stop. Being so, how can we divide this movement amidst tranquility into beginning and end, or the point of departure and the point of closure? Since the beginning of Heaven and Earth, there has been movement amidst tranquility.⁷³

In explaining the meaning of the “Heart and Mind of Heaven and Earth,” it is clear that Zhang Zai is engaged in a dialogue with Wang Bi and Kong Yingda. He deliberately employs the same terms that Wang and Kong use in their commentaries (e.g., fundamental nature, *ben*),

but he gives the terms different meanings. He focuses on the same subjects that Wang and Kong discuss in their commentaries (e.g., the tranquility of Heaven and Earth), but he approaches the subjects from a different angle. He asks himself rhetorical questions that seem to originate from the commentaries of Wang and Kong (e.g., whether there is a beginning and end in the universe), but he offers different answers to the questions. Above all, he sees the universe as dynamic and self-generative, something that can never be divided into different spheres, be they *you* and *wu*, movement and tranquility, or beginning and end. Rather than meaning “to return to the original substance” of Heaven and Earth, for Zhang “Fu” means the automatic beginning of a new round of movement in the universe after one round has completed. To underscore this unceasing movement in the universe, Zhang describes it as “the movement amidst tranquility” (*jing zhong zhi dong*). While the phrase seems ambiguous and awkward at first glance, we should keep in mind that by “movement amidst tranquility” Zhang means the split moment when one round of movement has just finished and another round of movement is about to begin. Even in that split moment, Zhang argues, movement continues even though it is more subdued and less perceptible.

Fearing that his readers might still think of the *Tuan* statement of “Fu” as purely about cosmology, Zhang Zai concludes his commentary with the following observation:

Without premeditated actions and preconceived plans, Heaven never ceases in movement. The moral nature of man is similar to Heaven’s [movement amidst tranquility]. It is innate to man, and it requires no preconceived arrangement to remain tranquil [amidst movement]. Hence, moral cultivation is based on calming oneself.⁷⁴

Although not as eloquently expressed as in the “Western Inscription,” here Zhang Zai restates his moral metaphysics. By drawing a parallel between the “mind and heart of Heaven and Earth” and the “mind and heart of man,” he defines moral cultivation as the cosmic mission of humankind to continue the flow of the universe. Just as the universe never ceases in regenerating itself, human beings should not stop rejuvenating themselves morally. Just as the universe is tranquil while in motion, human beings should learn to control their wandering minds in conducting their lives. Harking back to the theme of stopping the wandering mind in the *Tuan* statement of “Gen,” Zhang Zai demonstrates that there is a direct relationship between moral cultivation and

spiritual transcendence. In the humdrum of daily life, he suggests, one finds spiritual fulfillment as a guardian of the universe.

Expanding the Scope of Civil Governance

In the current scholarship, much has been said about Zhang Zai's importance in founding the Song-Ming *Daoxue*.⁷⁵ But little attention has been paid to how his moral metaphysics related to the self-identity of the Northern Song educated elite. In the context of mid-Northern Song reforms, besides offering a new perspective on the human role in the universe, Zhang Zai's moral metaphysics was significant to the educated elite's rethinking of civil governance. First, drawing from the *Xici*, the *Analects*, the *Great Learning*, and the *Doctrine of the Mean*, Zhang's moral metaphysics added a new dimension to the civil bureaucrats' political activism. For the civil bureaucrats like Fan Zhongyan, they separated themselves from the aristocrat bureaucrats of the Tang and the Five Dynasties by their desire to take an active role in governing. Rather than participating in governing for the interests of their families, they considered themselves to be the corulers of the empire, sharing the responsibility of ruling with the emperor. What Zhang Zai did was to add a metaphysical dimension to this political activism. In addition to the civil bureaucrats actively participating in governing for the political reason of building civil governance, Zhang Zai told them that building civil governance was also part of their cosmic mission as human beings to perpetuate the constant flow of *qi* in the universe. Hence, in coruling "this empire of ours," the civil bureaucrats were not merely displaying a dedication to public service, but also participating in the regeneration of the universe.

Second, Zhang Zai's moral metaphysics also expanded the scope of Northern Song civil governance. For the civil bureaucrats of Fan Zhongyan's generation, to actively participate in governing meant simply mastering the Confucian classics, passing the civil service examinations, and assuming whatever government posts to which they were assigned. For them, governing meant offering advice to the emperor on national policies, supervising military campaigns, serving as provincial officials, and managing the examination and school systems. Here, with Zhang Zai's moral metaphysics, the civil bureaucrats of the mid-Northern Song were expected to do even more. Besides administering the government, they needed to control their own conduct as well as the behavior of the people around them. In

addition to being “a king outwardly” (*waiwang*), they were expected to be “a sage inwardly” (*neisheng*). Whereas in being “a king outwardly,” the civil bureaucrats would be judged by how effective they were as censors, state councilors, provincial governors, examiners, and military strategists; being “a sage inwardly” they needed to judge themselves based on self-cultivation and the observance of rites. While the former could be measured with well-defined criteria, the latter required years of training and strict compliance with the moral code.⁷⁶ Because of this expansion in the scope of civil governance, in his time Zhang Zai was well known for prescribing a proper code of behavior for the educated elite. To his contemporaries, he was remembered as an expert in ritual, particularly the rituals presumably practiced during the ancient dynasties of Xia, Shang, and Zhou.⁷⁷ Although in his extant writings we find little discussion of how to implement those ancient rituals, it is clear that Zhang had inspired many of his contemporaries to turn their attention to shaping social behavior and personal conduct.

Third, by adding a metaphysical dimension to the civil bureaucrats’ political activism and thereby expanding the scope of civil governance, Zhang Zai’s moral metaphysics was in effect a critique of early Northern Song civil governance. Upon reaching the reign of Renzong (1023–1063), the Northern Song government began to have difficulties finding enough official posts for successful examinees.⁷⁸ A good example is Zhang Zai himself who, a *jin shi* in 1025, was given only a low-ranking official post. The inability of the Song government to provide appropriate government posts to successful examinees led to widespread frustration among the educated elite, and undermined the founding principle of the civil service examination system—that is, putting the right man in the right job. Despite the government’s attempts to reform the examination system in the 1020s, 1040s, and 1070s, the system had continued to produce too many “right men” such that there were no longer enough “right jobs” for them.⁷⁹ When many “right men” were not given appropriate jobs, and when many “right jobs” were given to the wrong men, the effectiveness of the examination system as an unbiased mechanism of selection was very much in doubt.⁸⁰

While Zhang Zai did not explicitly question the educated elite’s belief in ruling the empire with the emperor, he attempted to lessen their dependence on the Song government. If, as he suggested, moral cultivation is an end in itself requiring lifelong commitment and its goal is to continue the flow of *qi* in the universe, then the educated elite

did not have to become prominent government officials to fulfill their moral duty. Gone was the close bond between civil bureaucrats and the Northern Song emperors in cofounding a lasting civil order. Also gone was Hu Yuan's sense of a new era in which military governance gradually gave way to civil governance, and peace and prosperity had finally arrived. Instead, Zhang called on the educated elite to face the bureaucratic problems of the mid-Northern Song by looking for alternatives to achieve self-fulfillment. It was particularly with respect to this last point that some of Zhang's contemporaries took his moral metaphysics to heart. After Zhang's death in 1077, Sima Guang composed a poem recapitulating what he thought were the teachings of Zhang Zai. Reiterating Zhang's opposition to building civil governance based on the civil service examination system, the poem ended with this advice:

[All of you] study the classics to follow the ancient learning, and never let wealth and fame change you. [All of you] practice rituals to model after ancient sages, and never let the conventions of the time lead your way. [All of you] cultivate the inner rather than the outer, and let your mind be broad and impartial.⁸¹

For Sima Guang, Zhang Zai's moral metaphysics spoke directly to those who were disenchanted with the examination system. Instead of being appointed a role to play in government and society, Zhang urged them to seek moral authority outside the preexisting sociopolitical structure. By arguing that the part is the whole and that there is unity in diversity, Zhang marked off a social domain wherein the educated elite could claim absolute authority. Above all, with Zhang Zai's moral metaphysics, the unsuccessful examinees gained more options in "ruling the empire with the emperor." If they could not join the bureaucracy to serve the public, they could corule the empire by learning to control their behaviors, shaping social values and practices, and forming fraternity with all beings in the universe.

Sima Guang's Yijing Commentary

At first glance, it looks surprising that Sima Guang would have been so deeply impressed with Zhang Zai's moral metaphysics. A powerful official during the reigns of Shenzong and Zhezong, he was the civil bureaucrat par excellence in the mid-Northern Song as Fan Zhongyan had been in the early Northern Song. After passing the civil service examinations, he not only entered the Song government but also

literally ruled the empire with the emperor. Particularly during the early years of the reign of Zhezong, the regents of the young emperor entrusted him with the task of undoing Wang Anshi's reform, and because of that he became the most powerful official in the land.⁸² So, unlike Zhang Zai, Sima was a beneficiary of the Northern Song civil governance, and he appeared to have little reason to be critical of the system. Yet, Zhang Zai's death in 1077 triggered a torrent of emotions in him and prompted him to compose two pieces of writing—a letter discussing the honorific posthumous title for Zhang, and a poem summarizing his life.⁸³ In both occasions, Sima held Zhang in high regard for prescribing a proper code of conduct for the educated elite by reviving the ancient rituals.

Seen with historical hindsight, Sima Guang's affection for Zhang Zai was partly a result of his power struggle with Wang Anshi and his supporters. As the opposition leader to Wang Anshi's reform, Sima was forced to retire in the 1070s and 1080s when Wang won the support of Emperor Shenzong to launch his ambitious "New Policies." During his temporary retirement, he moved to Luoyang for its natural beauty and its political symbolism as the capital of previous dynasties in past hundreds of years. There, spending much of his time reflecting on his political career, he felt the frustration of many mid-Northern Song educated elite who were motivated, on the one hand, to rule the empire with the emperor and denied, on the other, the opportunity to serve in the government. Watching on the sidelines of national politics, he saw the wisdom of Zhang Zai in encouraging the educated elite to look for alternatives to achieve self-fulfillment. Years later, in writing his commemorative poem for his deceased friend, Sima still thought of Zhang Zai as a profound thinker who had come to terms with adversity. A case in point, for Sima, was Zhang's determination to stand up to Wang Anshi: "When the chief counselor was arrogant and manipulative, using his power to make one prosperous and the other desolate, Mr. [Zhang] refused to follow his orders and left the government to return home. With a roomful of relatives needing support and without land to farm to make a living, [Mr. Zhang] happily lived on wild vegetables, without expecting to have fat meat and fresh food."⁸⁴ In Zhang Zai, Sima found an independent-minded and incorruptible scholar-official, who had no fear of political suppression.

In addition, Sima Guang's affection for Zhang Zai was also the result of sharing Zhang's view of a dynamic universe. In a 1085 letter to his friend, Han Bingguo, Sima Guang discussed the meaning of the

hexagram “Fu” (Return, #24). Apparently a fan of Wang Bi, Han Bingguo quoted, in his previous letter to Sima, from Wang’s commentary on the *Tuan* statement of “Fu”—“In ‘Fu’ one can see the Heart and Mind of Heaven and Earth.” Like Wang Bi, Han took the *Tuan* statement to mean the reversion from *you* to *wu*. Sima disagreed. In his reply, he accused Wang Bi of missing the true spirit of *Yijing* by employing the ideas of Laozi and Zhuangzi to interpret the classic. To show his friend what “Fu” really meant, Sima wrote:

Since the beginning of Heaven and Earth, the *yin* is born when the *yang* reaches its peak, and the *yang* is born when the *yin* reaches its peak. When movement reaches its limits then tranquility appears, and when tranquility reaches its limits then movement begins. . . . Like a circle without end, the ten thousand things follow this [pattern of rise and fall, and waxing and waning]. For this reason, it is said [in the *Xici* I] that “That which has a *yin* and a *yang* is called the Way.” This [intermixing of the *yin* and the *yang*] is the Heart and Mind of Heaven and Earth.⁸⁵

Here, we find the same argument that Zhang Zai made in his commentary on the hexagram “Fu.” For Sima and Zhang, the universe is a continuous process of generation and regeneration, and there is no single moment when the universe will stop its movement. For them, “Fu” describes this dynamic and self-generative universe by focusing on the split moment when one round of movement has just finished and another round of movement is about to begin. Even in that split moment, whether it is from the *yin* to the *yang*, or from the *yang* to the *yin*, movement continues. According to Sima Guang, Han Bingguo had two problems in his cosmology. First, he sees the split moment as a moment of quiescence where everything stops. Second, he equates that moment of quiescence as the “Heart and Mind of Heaven and Earth,” implying that the universe is inactive in nature.

In Sima Guang’s commentary on the *Yijing*, *Wengong yishuo* (An explanation of the meaning of the *Yi* by [Sima] Wengong), he further explained the implications of a dynamic universe. With respect to morality, like Zhang Zai, he held the view that a dynamic universe was the basis for moral metaphysics, linking self-cultivation with the unfolding of *qi*. For instance, he took the opportunity to explain the importance of controlling one’s mind when commenting on the fourth line statement of “Xian” (Reciprocity, #31). The line statement refers to

a person being agitated by his unsettling environment. Sima Guang's commentary reads:

In writing, the character for *zheng* [正 impartial] consists of *yi* [一 one] and *zhi* [止 stop]. By *zheng*, we mean to stop at one place and from there we turn our attention to the rest of the world. [If one can do that,] then what else do we need to worry about? Take, for instance, a pond of still water, quiet and unmoving. The reason that water is able to respond to myriad changes is that it stops at one place. Sun and moon contain the essence of Heaven and Earth; winter and summer are the result of [the movement of] *qi*. When Heaven and Earth are moved by the resonance and the waxing and waning [of *qi*], how can human beings be different? Thus the Way of the Great Man is nothing more than straightening one's heart and mind.⁸⁶

Here, "Xian" for Sima Guang is similar to "Daxu" and "Gen" for Zhang Zai. The hexagram is seen as a plea to control one's mind, and a prime example of the implicit link between the *Yijing* on the one hand and the *Great Learning* and the *Doctrine of the Mean* on the other. More importantly, it highlights the importance of becoming "a sage inwardly" as a precondition for fulfilling human beings' cosmic mission to perpetuate the movement of *qi*. For both Sima Guang and Zhang Zai, previous commentators such as Kong Yingda had missed an important aspect of the *Yijing*—its discussion about the inner roots of ordering the world.

However, being a powerful civil bureaucrat with long experience in managing government affairs, Sima Guang regarded being "a sage inwardly" as only a means to an end. It was a preparation for being "a king outwardly," readying one to serve in government and to rule the world. On this score, Sima Guang was closer to Hu Yuan than to Zhang Zai. Like Hu Yuan, Sima Guang had strong belief in "coruling" *politically* with the Song emperor. Also like Hu Yuan, he saw the Northern Song civil governance as a system that granted officials unprecedented power to run the empire. For instance, Sima interpreted hexagram "Kun" (Receptive, #2) as a discussion of the civil bureaucrats' mission to corule the world with the emperor. Traditionally taken to be a symbol of *yin*, "Kun" had long been rendered as a discussion about an ideal official, who is obedient, supportive, and diligent. In particular, the third line statement of "Kun" seems to confirm this image of a perfect official by stating that an official has to follow the orders from the ruler in order to be "great" and "bright."⁸⁷ But for Sima Guang, this line also

means the partnership between an emperor and an official in coruling the empire. He said:

Things grow with the *yang* and complete their growth with the *yin*. [Similarly,] the emperor issues orders and the official carries them out. Therefore, if there is the *yang* without the *yin*, then the ten thousand things will hurt; if there is emperor without official, then no one will run the government. The *yin* and the *yang* have to collaborate to finish their task, and the same is true of emperor and official [in ordering the world]. This is the constant law in Heaven, and the unchanged practice in Humankind.⁸⁸

In the rest of the *Wengong yishuo*, Sima Guang further explains this partnership between an emperor and an official by applying the *Yijing* to “issues related to ruling the country” (*qi yu guo ye*).⁸⁹ For example, he interprets the hexagram “Daguo” (Preponderance of the Great, #28) as the troubling relationship between an arrogant emperor and a compliant official;⁹⁰ the hexagram “Mingyi” (Darkening of the Light, #36) as the collaboration of a forward-looking emperor and a supportive official in establishing the social and political systems;⁹¹ and the hexagram “Jiaren” (The Family, #37) as the link between managing the family and ordering the world.⁹² This emphasis on being “a king outwardly” indicates that Sima, despite his political setback, was still optimistic about Northern Song civil governance. Whereas he was more forthcoming than Hu Yuan in stressing the importance of moral cultivation in preparing one to serve in the government, he did not go as far as Zhang Zai in centering on moral cultivation as the cosmic mission of the educated elite. To Sima, Northern Song civil governance was undoubtedly imperfect; nevertheless, it was still the best system that gave civil bureaucrats the power to order the world.

Shao Yong's Yijing Commentary

Turning to another of Zhang Zai's contemporaries, Shao Yong, we find another reading of the *Yijing*. Conventionally, Shao Yong is described as a specialist in numerology, charts, and diagrams with a unique view of the universe.⁹³ He is also considered to be the “transition to Neo-Confucianism,”⁹⁴ and a philosopher interested in “the abstract structure and pattern of events in the universe.”⁹⁵ Because of his penchant for philosophizing the nature of the universe, he is often seen as a system builder or a diagram maker who cares little about human affairs. But,

as Kidder Smith and Don Wyatt point out, Shao Yong's numerology and diagrams were not merely to satisfy philosophical curiosity; they were "to address the issues of human nature and destiny [*xing ming*] that came to occupy the literati thinkers from the 1030s on."⁹⁶ More importantly, as Don Wyatt demonstrates, Shao Yong was "the recluse of Loyang" who, for decades, befriended a group of officials temporarily out of power because of Wang Anshi's "New Policies."⁹⁷ Among his close friends in Luoyang were Sima Guang⁹⁸ and Zhang Zai.⁹⁹ What this web of friendship shows is that Shao Yong was a member of the inner circle of the "antireform" group. He might not have been active in politics, or vocal in criticizing Wang Anshi's "New Policies." Nevertheless, he was part of the discourse to reexamine the role of the educated elite in the mid-Northern Song reforms.

Shao Yong did not write a commentary on the *Yijing*. But his *magnum opus*, *Huangji jingshi shu* (Book of Supreme World-Ordering Principles), was based on the *Yijing*. In the book, not only did he frequently cite the *Yijing*, he also discussed at great length parts of the classic, particularly the *Xici* and the *Shuogua*. Like Zhang Zai, he saw the essence of the *Yijing* not in its advice for ruling the world, but in its discussion of moral metaphysics. He regarded his numerology, charts, and diagrams as explications of what had already been implied in the moral teachings of the *Yijing*.¹⁰⁰ Unlike Zhang Zai, however, he derived his reading of the *Yijing* more from the *Shuogua* than from the *Xici*. On this matter, Shao Yong was totally unique because none of the exegetes we have discussed thus far, from the third century to the eleventh century, paid as much attention to the *Shuogua* as he.

A prime example of Shao Yong's preference for the *Shuogua* was his attempt to build his epistemological theory of "observing things" (*guan wu*) based on the first paragraph of the *Shuogua*. The first paragraph of the *Shuoguo* goes like this:

In the past when the sages composed the *Yi*, they created a method of divination in order to provide mysterious assistance to the spirit; they built a system of numerology by assigning the number three to Heaven and number two to Earth; they invented the [eight] trigrams after observing changes in the *yin* and the *yang*; they drew up the lines [of the sixty-four hexagrams] after watching the movement of the firm and the soft. [There, we find] peace and harmony in behaving morally and in reckoning with what is proper. [We] reach our destiny by exhausting the principle [of the universe] and completing our nature.¹⁰¹

For Shao Yong, the *Yijing* is about humans' connection with the universe, and the first paragraph of the *Shuogua* describes the process by which human beings will find their roots in the universe. For Shao, the process described in the *Shuogua* is one of reversion; its goal is "to observe the ten thousand hearts and minds from one's heart and mind, to observe the ten thousand bodies from one body, and to observe the ten thousand generations from one generation."¹⁰² This reversion is possible because, Shao believed, there is a single principle (*li*) that connects all animate and inanimate beings in this universe. That principle may be described in different ways under different circumstances. In human beings, that pattern is known as nature (*xing*). When rigorous efforts are required to uncover the universal principle in human beings, then it is called destiny (*ming*). From the human perspective, the process of reversion begins with reaching one's destiny (*zhi ming*), and then it goes a step further to completing one's nature (*jin xing*), and finally it reaches its highest point at exhausting the principle of the universe (*qiong li*).¹⁰³ Through this process of reversion, or "reflective perception" (*fan guan*), the learner attains the perspective of the universe such that he or she no longer sees objects from the observer's perspective (*yi wo guan wu*); instead he or she sees objects from the objects' perspective (*yi wu guan wu*).¹⁰⁴

The purpose of the "reflective perception," according to Shao Yong, was not to satisfy the curiosity to see the world in its totality, but to make one a better person in life. With a broad perspective, the person would be a better husband to his wife, a better father to his son, and a better official to his emperor.¹⁰⁵ The person would be better prepared to understand the fine points in such Confucian classics as the *Yijing*, the *Shijing*, the *Shujing*, and the *Chunqiu*.¹⁰⁶ For Shao Yong, these social, political, and moral implications of his "reflective perception" had already been implied in the first paragraph of the *Shuogua*, which suggested in its second to the last line that the goal of reversion was to "find peace and harmony in moral behavior and righteousness." And to make certain that no one would misunderstand the goal of "reflective perception," Shao Yong's son, Shao Bowen, made this comment:

All human beings are born from the same Heaven and Earth. From me to others, and from others to things, all originate from the same Way. Therefore, the sage completes his nature to complete the nature of others, and completes the nature of others to complete the nature of things. [So the sage] takes care of his parents to prepare for practicing kindness to the people, and practices kindness to the people

to prepare for loving all things on earth. From loving one's parents to loving others' parents, from loving one's children to loving others' children, it is the same state of mind being applied to seeking benefits and avoiding harm. From me to others, and from others to all things on earth, there is no difference.¹⁰⁷

What Shao Bowen said about his father's "reflective perception" reminds us of Zhang Zai's essay "Western Inscription" and his commentaries on the hexagrams "Daxu" and "Gen." Both Shao Yong and Zhang Zai, as Ann Birdwhistell points out, shared the same interest in merging "the self with the whole, so that there is no consciousness of self and other."¹⁰⁸ Both of them, in response to the problems of the mid-Northern Song, thought that to be "a king outwardly," one had first to be "a sage inwardly." Contrary to Sima Guang, they saw the need to reform civil governance by expanding its scope and directing attention to moral metaphysics.

5

Coming to Terms with Factional Politics: The Yijing of Cheng Yi and Su Shi

To advance, the great men have to group together. It is not merely for the sake of their shared view or their common predisposition, but also for helping one another. Therefore, whether a great man or a petty person, one cannot stand still. He must find companions and seek the assistance from his own kind.

—Cheng Yi, *Yichuan yizhuan*

In 1076, a year before Zhang Zai's death, Wang Anshi stepped down as the Grand Councilor of the Council of State. He left the capital Kaifeng for good to spend his retirement in Nanjing. Although he was out of power, his influence in the government remained strong. His supporters continued to carry out his reforms over the next nine years until the death of Emperor Shenzong in 1085. For seventeen years after 1068, Wang's "New Policies" dominated the political discussion of the mid-Northern Song. For better or worse, the New Policies brought drastic changes to the bureaucracy, military, economy, and government finance. They brought aggressive military actions against the Khitan Liao and the Jurchen Xixia,¹ strengthened the power of the officials to intervene in trade and economic development,² and increased the state revenue at the expense of the interests of large land-holding families.³ As a result, the New Policies built an activist government that was remarkably different from the limited government of the early Northern Song. Considering the scope of Wang's reform, the length of time of its implementation, and its broad impact on the Song dynasty, James T. C. Liu is right to call it "the major reform" vis-à-vis "the minor reform" of Fan Zhongyan.⁴

If one looks at what happened to the Northern Song after Wang's death in 1086, there is another reason to call his New Policies the

major reform. Beyond his grave, Wang continued to shape the government and politics from the 1080s to the 1120s, the period of late Northern Song. Despite many attempts, both the emperors and civil bureaucrats could not make up their minds whether to continue Wang's reforms or to return to the old ways prior to Wang. First, immediately following his death, Sima Guang discontinued the New Policies. During the "Yuanyou transformation" (1086–1094), backed by the regent Empress Gao (1032–1093), Sima and his supporters reinstated many policies that had been in effect prior to the Shenzong period.⁵ Then, when the young and aggressive Emperor Zhezong took power in 1094, he continued Wang's New Policies in the name of "carrying on a task started by one's father" (*shaoshu*). By reinstating Wang's New Policies, Emperor Zhezong saw himself as continuing the mission of his father, Shenzong, to build an activist government.⁶ Following the death of Zhezong in 1100, a second round of restoring the pre-Shenzong policies appeared when three empresses ruled the country as regents. Then, when the young Emperor Huizong took control of the government in 1102, he once again reinstated Wang's New Policies. For the rest of his reign, more than twenty years, Emperor Zhezong appointed supporters of Wang's reforms to lead the government.⁷

This back-and-forth swing in government policy not only brought instability to the late Northern Song government but also split the civil bureaucrats into a proreform group (*xin dang*) and an antireform group (*jiu dang*). Each time the government changed its position on Wang's reform, the two groups of civil bureaucrats became more hostile to each other. A prime example of this rising hostility between the two groups was the reformer Cai Jing's (1047–1126) decision to take revenge against the antireform officials. In 1102, with Emperor Huizong's approval, he carved the names of 119 antireform officials on a stone tablet in front of the entrance to the imperial palace. Those whose names appeared on the stone tablet were labeled as "members of a faction" (*dang ren*), regardless of whether they were alive or dead. Those who were alive, they found their writings burned, their ranks demoted, their jobs reassigned to remote areas, and their relatives' chances of entering government diminished. For those already dead, their descendents were not allowed to marry members of the imperial family, and they had little chance of entering the government.⁸

Controversy on the Yichuan yizhuan

A victim of Cai Jing's revenge was Cheng Yi. His name appeared at the bottom of the stone tablet, following such luminaries as Sima Guang, Lü Gongzhu (1018–1089), Wen Yanbo (1005–1097), Lü Dafang (1027–1097), Fan Chunren (1027–1101), Su Zhe (1039–1112), Su Shi, Qin Guan (1049–1100), and Huang Tingjian (1045–1105).⁹ Like others whose names were carved on the stone tablet, Cheng Yi received severe punishment. Earlier he had been banished to Sichuan because of his association with the antireform leaders Sima Guang and Lü Gongzhu; now he was told that his previous writings were banned because they were “deceptive and misleading to readers now and in the future.”¹⁰ To make certain that none of his current writings would be disseminated publicly, the local officials were instructed to monitor his activities, and he was not allowed to put his name on any of his current writings.¹¹ These punishments were devastating to Cheng Yi, because they in effect brought an end to his earlier hope of participating in government as a Confucian teacher. At this dark moment of his life, he completed his commentary on the *Yijing*, the *Yichuan yizhuan* (A Commentary on the *Yi* [by a reader] from Yi River).¹²

Although there has been little disagreement among scholars about Cheng Yi's role in founding the Cheng-Zhu school of *Daoxue*, his *Yichuan yizhuan* has always been surrounded by controversy. The controversies, surprisingly, began with Zhu Xi, the major annotator of Cheng Yi's works and the conventionally accepted cofounder of the Cheng-Zhu school. Despite the critical acclaim of *Yichuan yizhuan* after Cheng Yi's death, Zhu Xi criticized him for restricting the *Yijing* to human affairs and thereby distorting the original meaning of the text.¹³ To drive home his point, Zhu Xi urged his students to read other texts, like the *Great Learning*, the *Doctrine of the Mean*, and the *Book of Poetry* (*Shijing*), before reading the *Yichuan yizhuan*.¹⁴ During the Ming and Qing periods, despite being part of the official commentary on the *Yijing*, the *Yichuan yizhuan* was again the center of debate. This time it was no longer Cheng Yi's interpretation of the *Yijing* that was in question, but the authenticity of two pieces of his writings: a preface to the *Yichuan yizhuan* (*yixu*), and an essay on the meanings of dividing the *Yijing* into two halves (*shangxia pianyi*). The debate arose from the apparent discrepancies between the two works and the rest of Cheng Yi's *Yijing* commentary. In the debate, the works were attributed to various writers including Zhu Xi.¹⁵

In contemporary *Yijing* scholarship, views on the *Yichuan yizhuan* have become even more diverse. There are, at least, three interpretations. The first one, advocated by Lin Yisheng, stresses that the *Yichuan yizhuan* is an ethical reading of the *Yijing*. Because of this, the commentary should be considered the prime Confucian rendition of the classic.¹⁶ The second interpretation, advanced by Qiu Hanshang, argues that the *Yichuan yizhuan* is primarily a metaphysical writing focused on the Principle (*li*) of the universe. Although there may be discussions of moral cultivation in the commentary, Qiu sees them as merely extensions from Cheng Yi's fundamental concern with metaphysics.¹⁷ The third interpretation, proclaimed by Kidder Smith, is intended to be a compromise between the first two views. Smith argues that the first two views are complementary because the Principle of the universe is a unity of differences (*li yi fen shu*).¹⁸ To explain how the Principle can be transcendent and immanent, unitary and differentiated, at the same time, Smith compares it to a human cell. He says, "Think of the way in which the complete human genetic code or pattern is present in every cell of our bodies, even though the genetic makeup of that cell determines that it will be a liver or blood or nerve cell in form and function. Then imagine this relationship obtaining between all things, which make up one body with heaven and earth. Finally, note that heaven is itself just the pattern, so there is no separate repository where *li* could reside apart from all things."¹⁹

While this debate over the true nature of Cheng Yi's commentary is thought provoking, it is important to take into consideration its historical context—that is, civil governance during the late Northern Song. Living in a time when partisan factionalism was at its peak, Cheng Yi witnessed the horrors of two groups of civil bureaucrats attempting to destroy each other. Being a victim of Cai Jing's revenge, he faced the unwelcoming consequences when the majority of the civil bureaucrats were consumed in factional politics, devoting their energies not to ruling the empire but to expunging their opponents from the government. In this chapter, I will examine Cheng Yi's commentary in the context of late Northern Song factionalism. I will show that the commentary was not merely another reading of the *Yijing*, but also a testimony of late Northern Song politics and an attempt to redefine the role of the educated elite in an age of factionalism. To demonstrate Cheng Yi's uniqueness as an *Yijing* exegete, at the end of the chapter I will compare his commentary with that of Su Shi, his archrival within the antireform group.

Cheng Yi: The Man

Like Zhang Zai, Cheng Yi was born to a declining scholar-gentry family. When Cheng Yi was born in 1033, his family, based in Luoyang, had already lost its fortune as one of the early supporters of the Song imperial court. Although Cheng Yi's father, Cheng Xiang (1005–1090), was able to attain several central and provincial posts through the system of patronage, the Cheng family was no longer as influential as it had been at the beginning of the Song Dynasty.²⁰ His father's frustration and disillusionment with the diminishing fortunes of his family must have left a strong impression on the young Cheng Yi's mind. In his writings, there are two undated letters that he wrote for his father, who wanted to comfort a friend recently reassigned to a minor post in a remote area. In these two letters, assuming the voice of his father, the young Cheng Yi told the distressed official not to be discouraged by the bleak prospect of having a minor post, but to take the challenge to be an effective official in the remote area.²¹ As a young man, Cheng Yi saw his father and his friends struggling to give meaning to their lives after their dreams of "coruling the empire with the emperor" had been shattered. From his father's experience, he learned how disheartening it could be when idealism was tempered by harsh reality.

At the age of fourteen, around 1047, Cheng Yi was sent, along with his elder brother Cheng Hao, to study with Zhou Dunyi.²² Considered by later scholars as a pioneer of Cheng-Zhu school of *Daoxue*, Zhou authored two influential writings on the *Yijing*—*Taiji tushuo* (An Explanation of the Diagram of the Great Ultimate) and *Yi tongshu* (Penetrating the Book of Changes). Possibly, Cheng Yi learned to read the *Yijing* at this time. As Zhou's students, the two Cheng brothers were asked to find out what Confucius and Yan Hui loved to learn. According to Zhou, Confucius's favorite student Yan Hui had shown the possibility for embodying the universe by recovering one's innate human goodness.²³

Unlike his older brother Cheng Hao, who earned a government post by passing the civil service examinations, Cheng Yi did not pass the palace examination (*dian shi*). At one point, in 1056, Cheng Yi took extra effort to prepare for the examinations by enrolling in the Imperial Academy to study with Hu Yuan. It was during this time that Cheng Yi won Hu Yuan's admiration with his essay "A treatise on what Yanzi loved to learn."²⁴ In that essay, Cheng Yi argued that the search for Yan Hui's joy is tantamount to recovering one's roots in this uni-

verse and a sense of being connected to all beings in this universe.²⁵ Unfortunately, due to an unexpected cut in the number of successful candidates in 1059, Cheng Yi failed in the palace examination, which was pro forma under usual circumstances.²⁶

Although Cheng Yi was not successful in the civil service examinations, he earned his fame by lecturing on the Confucian classics. For instance, when Cheng Yi was at the Imperial Academy, he and his brother impressed their uncle Zhang Zai with their thoughtful readings of the *Yijing*. According to some accounts, Zhang Zai was so overwhelmed by the two Cheng brothers that he asked his students to study with them.²⁷ Being an expert in the Confucian classics, Cheng Yi was particularly popular among a group of senior scholar-officials such as Lü Gongzhu, Wen Yanbo, Han Qi (1008–1075) and Sima Guang, who were the leaders of the “antireform group” in opposing Wang Anshi’s reforms. When these officials were in power, many times they recommended Cheng Yi to serve in the court. Probably still holding hopes of passing the examinations, Cheng Yi used various excuses to reject their recommendations and contented himself with being a private scholar.²⁸

In 1086, during the “Yuanyou transformation,” Cheng Yi finally had the chance to serve in the imperial court. At the age of fifty-three, he accepted the regent Empress Gao’s offer to teach Confucian classics to the teenage emperor Zhezong. As part of the attempt of Sima Guang and Lü Gongzhu to undo Wang Anshi’s New Policies, Cheng Yi’s duty was to shape the future ruler’s view on governing, so that he would govern the empire based on the principles and policies of the pre-Shenzong era. During his tenure as the imperial teacher, Cheng Yi earned fame as a stern moralist. For example, he admonished the young emperor for breaking willow branches and for banqueting while still in mourning.²⁹ At court, Cheng Yi’s strict conformity to moral precepts won him both friends and foes. While veteran statesmen like Wen Yanbo and Lü Gongzhu admired his uprightness, his contemporaries (particularly young members of the proreform group) hated his arrogance. In 1090, when his father passed away, Cheng Yi left the imperial court amid controversy.³⁰

In 1093, when the proreform faction regained prominence in the Zhezong court, Cheng Yi and other members of the antireform group were blacklisted. Imperial edicts were issued in 1097 to destroy all of Cheng Yi’s writings and to banish him to Fuzhou, present day Fuling county in Sichuan province.³¹ It was during his banishment in

Sichuan that Cheng Yi wrote the *Yichuan yizhuan*. In 1099, Cheng Yi completed the first draft of the commentary and wrote a preface to it.³² This 1099 preface is commonly known as the “Yizhuan xu” (Preface to the *Commentary on the Book of Changes*), as distinguished from another preface, the *Yixu* (Preface to the *Changes*), whose authorship is questionable.³³

During his final eight years of life, Cheng Yi continued to improve on his *Yijing* commentary. Considering it as his major writing, he treated his *Yijing* commentary with utmost care, seldom showing it to his friends and students.³⁴ Nevertheless, as part of his punishment for being a “member of a faction,” he had to submit all of his current writings, including his *Yijing* commentary, to local officials for approval.³⁵ Although the antireform group briefly gained favor in 1106, Cheng Yi was already too ill to serve in the government. He died in the following year when the proreform group was preparing yet another round of persecution against the antireform group.³⁶ Fearing revenge from the proreform group, few of Cheng Yi’s relatives and friends attended his funeral. According to Zhu Xi, only five brave souls (including one arriving after dark) came to pay their last respects.³⁷ In life and in death, Cheng Yi was haunted by factional politics.

Yijing and Moral Metaphysics

Long before Cheng Yi began writing a commentary to the *Yijing*, he wrote an essay, “A treatise on what Yanzi loved to learn,” which won him Hu Yuan’s admiration.³⁸ Addressing the issue of human propensity for evil, Cheng Yi distinguishes human nature *before birth* (*xiantian*) from human nature *after birth* (*houtian*). While the human nature *before birth* is innately good as Mencius had argued, Cheng Yi stresses that the human nature *after birth* is contingent upon one’s social environment and one’s efforts at moral cultivation. If the social environment is conducive to nurturing human innate goodness and adequate efforts have been made to preserve the originally good human nature, then the originally good human nature will be fully developed. Cheng Yi calls this situation “turning the feelings into the original nature” (*xing qi qing*). Conversely, if the social environment is harmful and inadequate efforts have been made to preserve the originally good human nature, then the originally good human nature will not function properly. Cheng Yi calls this situation “turning one’s nature into feelings” (*qing qi xing*).³⁹

Due to this precariousness in manifesting one's originally good human nature, Cheng Yi considers moral cultivation a dual process. Inwardly, it should be a "rectification of the mind" (*zheng qi xin*) to activate the originally good human nature. Outwardly, it should be a "nourishment of one's nature" (*yang qi xing*) to create a healthy external environment for the originally good human nature to flourish.⁴⁰ Probably still shaped by his early schooling with Zhou Dunyi, Cheng Yi regards Confucius's favorite student Yan Hui as the prime example of this dual process of inward awakening and outward nourishment. For him, Yan Hui's joy in his brief and strenuous life derived from his moral cultivation, which included both internally a "firm faith in the Way" and externally a determination to practice a series of proper behaviors.⁴¹

In many respects, Cheng Yi's "A treatise on what Yanzi loved to learn" resembles Zhang Zai's "Western Inscription." Both authors assert that learned persons should be the "guardians of the universe," forming one body with the universe by preserving their innate good nature. Also, both authors argue that learned persons are not merely civil bureaucrats, but also moral leaders whose duty is to shape moral values and social practices. With so many common points of interest between the two authors, it is not surprising that their *Yijing* commentaries were similar, particularly with respect to using the classic to discuss moral metaphysics. Take, for instance, the hexagram "Daxu" (The Taming Power of the Great, #26). As discussed in the last chapter, Zhang Zai read the hexagram as a discussion of controlling the wandering mind. For him, moral cultivation begins with training the mind to focus on one thing at a time, and then sharing one's moral virtue with others by serving the human community. Similarly, Cheng Yi read "Daxu" as advice to perfect oneself morally. The main thrust of Cheng Yi's commentary centered on the hexagram statement which refers to good fortune in traveling overseas and not eating at home.⁴²

For someone who perfects himself in learning, he saves a great deal when he is filled with virtue in his body. . . . Since he is filled with virtue in his body, it is pertinent for him to assume high position and to enjoy heavenly rank. He must contribute by serving the world. If so, it is not only a blessing to him but also a blessing to the world. If he remains idle and supports himself at home, then the Way is stagnant. Hence, [the hexagram statement says that] good fortune will come when "[one is] not eating at home." When one has saved

a great deal, then it is pertinent for him to apply [his virtue] to his times and to help resolve problems and dangers of the world. This is the purpose of saving a great deal. Hence, [the hexagram statement says:] “It furthers one to cross the great water.”⁴³

By taking “Daxu” to mean “saving a great deal” rather than “the taming power of the great,” Cheng Yi emphasizes the link between moral cultivation and sharing one’s moral achievement with others. Like Zhang Zai, Cheng Yi sees moral cultivation as a process. It begins as a solitary quest in stilling the wandering mind, and then it ends as a communal enterprise to transform human life and the universe as a whole. To be a moral person, Cheng Yi suggests, one has to be “a sage inwardly” and “a king outwardly.”

This similarity between Zhang Zai and Cheng Yi regarding moral cultivation is more pronounced in their comments on “Dazhuang” (The Power of the Great, #34). As discussed in the last chapter, Zhang Zai interpreted the hexagram as a discussion of determination. He equated the power of the great to the power of a determined mind in resisting food and drink offered in an improper manner. In a similar fashion, Cheng Yi defined “Dazhuang” as “great and strong,” meaning the determination of a superior man in perfecting himself. He wrote:

An ancient saying tells us: “To be strong means winning over oneself.” In [chapter 10 of] the *Doctrine of the Mean*, [a superior man who] “maintains harmony without wavering” and “stands in the middle position without leaning to one side” is hailed as “How unflinching is his strength!” Going through hot water and burning flame, and breaking through white swords, someone achieves these with a warrior’s strength. As for “overcoming oneself and returning to the observance of the rites” [as stated in *Analects* 12.1], they cannot be done without the great strength of a superior man. Hence, [the hexagram statement says:] “Thus the superior man does not tread upon paths that do not accord with established order.”⁴⁴

Here, Cheng Yi stresses the importance of training one’s mind inwardly and committing to social practices outwardly. He highlights the need for balancing the inner and the outer by derogatorily comparing the strength of a warrior to the strength of a superior man. Despite his show of force, the warrior is weak because of his lack of rational calculation in employing his power. The strength of a superior man, in contrast, is generated from within and extended to without. It builds upon a perfect match of one’s personal demands and one’s social obligations.

By restraining himself, the superior man does not allow his desires to overwhelm him; by observing rites, he balances his personal interests with his duties to society.

Based on this notion of balancing the inner and the outer—and by extension, balancing “a sage inwardly” and “a king outwardly”—Cheng Yi gave a new reading to the fifth line of “Dazhuang.” The line statement refers to someone feeling at ease in losing some goats,⁴⁵ and Cheng Yi’s comment focuses on why the person is contented with losing his property:

Goats advance in groups, and they like to gore with their horns. This is why they are used to symbolize the advance of the *yang* lines [in “Dazhuan”]. The four *yang* [lines] strengthen themselves and advance together. If line five, a *yin* [line] in high position, resists [the four advancing *yang* lines] with force, then it can hardly win and will have remorse. The only option [that line five has] is to harmonize and to be at ease with [the four *yang* lines]. By so doing, the *yang* lines will not use their force. For this reason, [line five] has to neutralize the strength [of the four *yang* lines] with harmony and ease.⁴⁶

Before Cheng Yi’s time, the “ease” in line five of “Dazhuang” had long been a subject of controversy among *Yijing* scholars. Virtually each commentator had his own definition of the word. For Wang Bi, the situation called for line five, a *yin* line, to control its temper to “go easy” with the advancing team of *yang* lines.⁴⁷ For Kong Yingda, “ease” referred to a time of peace and rest, indicating the best possible time for line five to make peace with the four advancing *yang* lines.⁴⁸ For Hu Yuan, the word meant a place of no significance where the arrogant line five mistakenly lost his goats.⁴⁹ By taking “ease” to mean at ease, Cheng Yi distinguished himself from previous commentators by underscoring the necessity to balance one’s personal interests with one’s social obligations. For him, the only way for the fifth *yin* to avoid a humiliating confrontation with the four advancing *yang* lines is to make peace with them. On the surface, the fifth line seems to compromise his esteemed position by assisting rather than forestalling the advance of the four *yang* lines. Nevertheless, given the fact that the four *yang* lines are determined to advance at all costs like an army of goats, there is no way for the fifth line to stop them from moving forward. By going along with the *yang* lines, the fifth line not only makes the best out of an adverse situation, but also demonstrates the wisdom of being at peace with one’s fate.

In the last chapter, we have discussed Zhang Zai's commentary on the *Tuan* statement of the hexagram "Fu" (Return, #24)—"In 'Fu' one sees the Mind of Heaven and Earth." He took the *Tuan* statement to mean that even at the split moment when one round of movement in the universe has been over and the other round is yet to occur, the universe is still in motion. To highlight his point, he called that split moment the "movement in tranquility" (*jing zhong zhi dong*). Turning to Cheng Yi, we find a similar interpretation. He also interpreted the *Tuan* statement as a description of a dynamic universe. He wrote:

The movement of heaven and earth is like this: it always returns to its beginning when it reaches its end, it often grows and decays, and it takes seven days to return to its beginning. It is in accordance to the Principle of Heaven that growth and decay generate each other. When the muscular and firm way of a superior man is growing, it furthers one if he has somewhere to go. A *yang* returning from below [in "Fu"] symbolizes the Heart of Heaven and Earth in giving birth to things. Scholars in the past usually took tranquility as the manifestation of the Heart of Heaven and Earth. They did not know that the beginning of motion is the Heart of Heaven and Earth. For those who do not know the Way, they will never understand it.⁵⁰

Like Zhang Zai, Cheng Yi directs his comment at previous exegetes, such as Wang Bi and Kong Yingda, who used "Fu" to support their call for reversing from *you* to *wu*. For them, the only way to escape from the confusion in life is to see the world from the perspective of the universe, which is orderly, tranquil, and balanced. To Cheng Yi, however, the universe is a constant process of growth and decay, of coming and going. When he argues that the Heart of Heaven and Earth is movement, he does not preclude tranquility as a characteristic of nature. After all, in the universe's self-regeneration, every moment of movement is followed by a moment of tranquility, similar to the waxing and waning of the moon. But by emphasizing that the nature of the universe is movement, Cheng Yi highlights human activism as the core of morality. For him, man is always active because he has an external environment with which to deal. Thus, the constant movement of the universe has to manifest itself in human beings' incessant effort to balance their personal interests with the needs of their surroundings.⁵¹

Also like Zhang Zai, Cheng Yi believed that being moral meant one actively and existentially became part of the flow of the universe.

In the hexagram “Xian” (Reciprocity, #31), he found a succinct summary of moral metaphysics. On the fourth line, which refers to an agitated mind being disturbed by unsettled surroundings, Cheng Yi’s commentary reads:

Human beings take action due to feelings (*gan*). Hence, “Xian” takes on images of the human body to illustrate its point. [In line one,] the big toe is used to indicate the slight movement from the bottom. [In line two,] the calves of the legs are used to indicate early movement. [In line three,] the thighs are used to indicate to follow. In line four, no bodily image is used and it speaks directly about the Way of feeling. It does not say feeling in the heart, because feeling implies [that it is a function of the] heart. . . . Each feeling requires a response. A response will trigger another feeling. And hence, [feelings and responses] constantly produce one another. . . .⁵²

For Zhang Zai, as discussed in the last chapter, calming the agitated mind of “Xian” means achieving spiritual tranquility by sheltering one from human affairs. By concentrating our mind on the *yin-yang* interaction in nature, Zhang Zai suggested, we will remove ourselves from the interruptions of human affairs and attain a power to see through things. Turning to Cheng Yi’s commentary, we find a slightly different rendition of the hexagram line. Cheng’s emphasis is less on calming the agitated mind than on taking action driven by a sense of feeling connected with the universe. But his main argument is the same as Zhang Zai. For both of them, the goal of moral cultivation is to develop a feeling of being connected with the universe and a commitment to serve the public.

Sixty-four Hexagrams as a Continuous Process

Despite their similarity in interpreting the *Yijing* from the perspective of moral metaphysics, Cheng Yi and Zhang Zai focused on different parts of the classic in their commentaries. First, while Zhang Zai focused on the *Xici* and was brief on the sixty-four hexagrams, Cheng Yi did the exact opposite. He was lengthy in commenting on the sixty-four hexagrams and wrote little on the *Xici*. Treating the *Xici* as if it were self-explanatory, Cheng Yi refrained from making any comment on it. What he wrote about the *Xici* was a short essay entitled “Xici.”⁵³ But even in that short essay, his goal was more to summarize the text than to offer an analysis of it. Keeping in mind the fact that Cheng Yi spent

the last eight years of his life improving on his *Yijing* commentary, it is apparent that the brevity in his commentary on the *Xici* was due to his deliberate decision, not because of a lack of time.

More importantly, while Zhang Zai focused on the *Xici*, Cheng Yi paid special attention to another part of the Ten Wings—the *Xugua*. An essay explaining the meaning of the sequence of the sixty-four hexagrams, the *Xugua* usually appears as an appendix to the *Yijing*. For instance, in Kong Yingda's *Zhouyi zhengyi*, the *Xuga* was placed after the sixty-four hexagrams, along with the *Xici* and the *Zagua* (Miscellany on the Hexagrams). Such an arrangement was meant to tell the *Yijing* readers that the *Xugua* was a supplement to the classic (like the *Xici* and the *Zagua*), and readers should focus their attention on the sixty-four hexagrams. In the *Hengqu yishuo*, Zhang Zai followed Kong Yingda's arrangement of the *Yijing* text and left the *Xugua* outside of the sixty-four hexagrams.⁵⁴ Cheng Yi, by contrast, broke the rules set down by Kong Yingda. He incorporated the *Xugua* into the main text of the *Yijing* by interjecting the *Xugua* statements into his commentary on the sixty-four hexagrams. Hence, the *Xugua* comment on hexagram "Tun" (Difficulty at the Beginning, #3) appears at the beginning of "Tun"; the *Xugua* comment on hexagram "Meng" (Youthful Folly, #4) appears at the beginning of "Meng," and so on.

The editors of the *Siku quanshu* may be right in suggesting that Cheng Yi was inspired by the Tang exegete Li Dingzuo in incorporating the *Xugua* into the *Yijing*.⁵⁵ Or perhaps Cheng Yi learned it from his teacher Hu Yuan, because in the *Zhouyi kouyi* Hu had already integrated the *Xugua* comments into his commentary on the sixty-four hexagrams. Regardless of where Cheng Yi got the idea, the key point is that by incorporating the *Xugua* comments into the sixty-four hexagrams, he looked at the hexagrams as a continuous process of generation and regeneration, in which one part produces another part. Furthermore, unlike Hu Yuan, who interjected the *Xugua* statements into his commentary without elaboration, Cheng Yi took pains to explain how a hexagram arises from its preceding hexagram, and how it helps to create the following hexagram. Thus, he saw the sixty-four hexagrams as a single system in which every part is a factor.

Take, for example, the hexagram "Tun" (Difficulty at the Beginning, #3). Cheng Yi begins his commentary on "Tun" by quoting the *Xugua* statement: "Myriad beings are born after Heaven and Earth have come into existence. These myriad beings fill the space between Heaven and Earth, and hence there follows the hexagram 'Tun.'"⁵⁶

Then, elaborating on the *Xugua* statement, he explains that the difficulty in “Tun” is a result of the initial interaction between Heaven and Earth, namely, the mixing of the *yin* and the *yang* forces symbolized by the joining of hexagrams “Qian” (The Creative, #1) and “Kun” (The Receptive, #2). Hence, for him, it is natural for “Tun” to follow “Qian” and “Kun,” because it symbolizes a confusing and yet promising situation when the interaction of Heaven and Earth has just taken place.⁵⁷ However, in its attempt to resolve the difficulty in the interaction of Heaven and Earth, “Tun” creates a new set of problems—how to attend to those newly created myriad beings. For this reason, Cheng Yi finds it not surprising that “Tun” has to give rise to “Meng” (Youthful Folly, #4), a group of youngsters looking for guidance.⁵⁸ To drive home his point, Cheng Yi opens his commentary on “Meng” with a quotation from the *Xugua*: “‘Tun’ means plentitude. It also means things have just been born. Things are obscure when they have just been born; hence there follows the hexagram ‘Meng.’”⁵⁹ In this manner, by quoting from and elaborating on the *Xugua*, Cheng Yi shows that the sixty-four hexagrams are one continuous process that reproduces itself.

As an allegory of the dynamic universe, this continuous process of generation and regeneration of hexagrams does not end with the last hexagram of the *Yijing*, “Weiji” (Incompletion, #64). In chapters 2 and 3, we have seen respectively how Wang Bi and Hu Yuan interpreted “Weiji” as a better ending of the *Yijing* than “Jiji” (Completion, #63). The two exegetes argued that since “Weiji” is not as perfect a hexagram as “Jiji,” it cautions the *Yijing* readers about the dangers of being complacent. In Cheng Yi’s commentary on “Weiji,” we find a different reading. He begins his commentary with a quotation from the *Xugua*: “Things cannot exhaust themselves; hence there follows, at the end, the hexagram ‘Weiji.’”⁶⁰ Elaborating on this *Xugua* line, he stresses that the entire text of the *Yijing* is about the “continuous process of change” (*bianyi er buqiong*) in this universe.⁶¹ Then, he argues that although a perfect hexagram, “Jiji” symbolizes the exhaustion of things because of its lack of room for further improvement. On the contrary, in Cheng Yi’s view, “Weiji” is a more desirable hexagram for two reasons. First, with its imperfect hexagram image and inauspicious line statements, it refers to a situation where drastic transformation is absolutely necessary. Instead of stagnation (as in “Jiji”), “Weiji” points to the will to change and the need for aggressive action. Second, despite its location at the end of the *Yijing*, “Weiji” is the best hexagram to represent the entire classic. Rather than signifying the end of the

Yijing, it symbolizes, according to Cheng Yi, the continuous process of generation and regeneration in the universe.⁶²

Battle between the Great Men and the Petty People

At first glance, it appears that there is nothing new in Cheng Yi's incorporation of the *Xugua* into the sixty-four hexagrams. First, for centuries before Cheng Yi, *Yijing* exegetes had known of the *Xugua* argument that the sixty-four hexagrams are one continuous process. Whether or not the exegetes incorporated the *Xugua* into the sixty-four hexagrams, they knew that the sequence of the sixty-four hexagrams was not random. Second, as mentioned in chapter 2, in his essay "Ming Tuan" Wang Bi calls upon his third-century readers to look for one coherent meaning behind the sixty-four hexagrams. He tells them: "Things do not err; they always follow a pattern. They are united with their same source, and are grouped together with their same origin."⁶³ Although he does not specifically mention the *Xugua*, he makes clear that the task for an *Yijing* exegete is to find out the one thread that connects the sixty-four hexagrams.

Conventional as it might seem, in one particular area Cheng Yi's incorporation of the *Xugua* into the sixty-four hexagrams was significant to his eleventh-century readers. By interjecting the *Xugua* statements into the sixty-four hexagrams, Cheng Yi presented the *Yijing* as a narrative of an incessant battle between the "great men" (*junzi*) and the "petty people" (*xiaoren*). For him, the sixty-four hexagrams symbolized not only the continuous process of generation and regeneration of the universe, but also the continuous tug-of-war between two groups of officials in the imperial court. For him, the shifting balance of the *yin* and the *yang* in each hexagram represented the shifting balance of power of good officials (*yang*) and bad officials (*yin*) in government. In some hexagrams the good officials held the upper hand, and in other hexagrams the bad officials were in control. For him, like the self-regeneration of the universe, the struggle between the great men and the petty people would continue forever as part of the human quest for a perfect government.

For instance, in commenting on the hexagrams "Tai" (Peace, #11) and "Pi" (Stagnation, #12), Cheng Yi describes this constant battle between the great men and the petty people. In terms of the configurations of hexagram lines, the two hexagrams are completely reversed. Whereas "Tai" consists of three *yin* (broken) lines at the top and three

yang (straight) lines at the bottom, “Pi” has three *yang* lines at the top and three *yin* lines at the bottom. In the *Yijing* parlance, “Tai” is said to have a “Kun” (all *yin*) upper trigram and a “Qian” (all *yang*) lower trigram, and “Pi” a “Qian” upper trigram and a “Kun” lower trigram. In his commentary, Cheng Yi highlights this reversed *yin-yang* balance of force, and explains its implication on the balance of power between the great men and the petty people. For example, in commenting on the *Tuan* statement of “Tai,” which refers to the departure of the small and the arrival of the great, Cheng Yi begins with a meditation on its cosmological meaning.

“The small” refers to the *yin*, and “the great” the *yang*. “Depart” means departing to the upper trigram. “Approach” means approaching to the lower trigram. [“Tai” symbolizes] the *yang* force descending [to the lower trigram] and the *yin* force ascending [to the upper trigram]. When the interaction of the *yin* and the *yang* is harmonious and smooth, then the myriad things grow and boom. There is peace in Heaven and Earth.⁶⁴

Having explained the cosmological meaning of “Tai,” Cheng Yi immediately turns to its political meaning. He takes the *yang* as a symbol of the great men, and the *yin* the petty people. Equating the *yin-yang* balance with the balance of power in government, he reads “Tai” as a situation where the great men are in power. He writes:

Speaking in terms of human affairs, “the great” means emperor, and “the small” officials. With trust, the emperor appoints the officials to duties; with their utmost sincerity, the officials serve their ruler. When ruler and officials freely share their views, there is peace in the imperial court. The *yang* means great men, and the *yin* petty people. When the great men approach and take up position inside [the government], and when the petty people depart and take up position outside [the government], the great men are in power and the petty people are under control. There is peace in Heaven and Earth.⁶⁵

For Cheng Yi, “Tai” is indeed an inviting situation, well deserved to be described as “peace in the imperial court” and “peace in heaven and earth.” The reason for the joy and jubilation is that the government is in the hands of the great men. Located in the lower trigram (representing the political center of the government), the great men (*yang*) keep the petty people (*yin*) out of the government. Confined to the upper trigram (representing the periphery of politics), the petty people (*yin*) are going to have limited impact on the government.

Desirable as it is, the “peace in imperial court” in “Tai” does not last long. On the one hand, the great men cannot be in power all the time, and on the other, the petty people will not be happy about being on the periphery of politics forever. Hence, after a while, “Tai” turns into “Pi” as the balance of power shifts. In “Pi,” the petty people (*yin*) control the government (the lower trigram) and push the great men (*yang*) to the fringes of politics (the upper trigram). To highlight this change in the balance of power, Cheng Yi’s commentary reads:

The *yin* and the soft occupy the lower trigram, and the *yang* and the strong settle in the upper trigram. The great men leave and take position outside [the government], and the petty people come and take position inside [the government]. This is a time when the petty people are in power, and the great men are in retreat.⁶⁶

For Cheng Yi, “Pi” is worrisome. In “Pi,” there is no movement, no action, and no progress in the government. With the petty people in power and the great men out of favor, the government is in shambles. For this reason, to Cheng Yi, the biggest problem of “Pi” is not the lack of interaction between the *yin* and the *yang*; rather, it is “missing the proper way of ruling the country” (*tianxia wu bangguo zhidao*).⁶⁷

In the early Northern Song, the civil officials frequently invoked “Tai” and “Pi” to discuss their ruling of the empire with the emperor. For instance, during Taizong’s reign, the Grand Councilor Song Qi (998–1061) used the two hexagrams to demonstrate to the emperor the importance of forming a close ruler-official partnership.⁶⁸ He argued that hexagrams “Pi” and “Tai” represent two opposite situations. Whereas hexagram “Pi”—with a “Qian” trigram at the top and a “Kun” trigram at the bottom—refers to a situation where the material forces of Heaven and Earth do not mix, hexagram “Tai” suggests the opposite. With a “Kun” trigram at the top and a “Qian” trigram at the bottom, “Tai” refers to a situation where the material forces of Heaven and Earth are intermixed, and hence serves as a symbol of the close partnership between the ruler (Heaven) and the officials (Earth). To rule the empire effectively, Song Qi insisted, ruler and officials must meet frequently to share their views.

In similar fashion, during the Zhenzong reign, the classicist Feng Yuan told the emperor that the two trigrams of “Tai” represent the descent of *yang* and the ascent of *yin*, hence implying the interaction of Heaven and Earth. By extension, Feng Yuan argued that the interaction of *yin* and *yang* in “Tai” symbolize an equal exchange of

views between ruler and officials.⁶⁹ Whereas the ruler will impress his vision of governing on his officials, his officials will convince the ruler to accept their perspectives on improving the government. Subtly suggesting “Pi,” Feng Yuan reminded Zhenzong that if there are no frequent and frank exchanges of views between ruler and officials, the empire will be out of order. Equating the ruler-official interaction with the *yin-yang* interaction, Feng Yuan warned Zhenzong of the severe consequences if he did not allow free exchange of views between him and his officials.

Compared to Song Qi’s and Feng Yuan’s readings, Cheng Yi’s reading of “Tai” focuses on the struggle for power among the officials rather than on their sharing of power with the emperor. He was less concerned about the civil bureaucrats’ role in coruling the empire, but was keenly aware that the split among officials would have disastrous consequences for the Song government. Certainly he was vague as to who the great men and the pretty people were. Nor was he clear about the criteria for distinguishing one group from the other. Yet, he was certain that the split between the two groups of officials was permanent, and there was little one could do to mend the fences. He was also convinced that the struggle for power between the two groups of officials would last for a long time, and there was no way to tell whether the great men would eventually triumph over the petty people.

Good Officials Make Good Government

In his times, Cheng Yi was not alone in reading “Tai” and “Pi” this way. During the “Yuanyou transformation” when the antireform group led by Sima Guang was in power and Cheng Yi was summoned to teach the Confucian classics to the teenage Emperor Zhezong, high-ranking officials like Wang Di, Sun Sheng, and Fan Chunren also cited “Tai” and “Pi” in their memorials to highlight the distinction between the great men and the petty people.⁷⁰ Like Cheng Yi, these officials read the two hexagrams as a depiction of the constant power struggle between the two types of officials. They also underscored the urgency for putting the right persons in the government, warning Emperor Zhezong (and implicitly the regent Empress Gao) of the danger of allowing the pro-reform group to return to power. Granted that Cheng Yi was adamant in opposing Wang Anshi’s reform and a target of Cai Jing’s revenge, it is tempting to read his *Yijing* commentary as a political statement.

Like his contemporaries, Cheng Yi could have equated the great men with the antireform officials, and the petty people with the proreform officials. Nevertheless, throughout the *Yichuan yizhuan*, Cheng Yi did not make such a claim. Nor did he provide any example, historical or current, to elucidate what was on his mind regarding these two groups of people. It appears that what he wanted was to call his readers' attention to this continuous struggle between these two groups of people, without concern with who these people might be.

Yet, despite this ambiguity, it is clear that Cheng Yi regarded the selection of officials as the cornerstone of good government. His political vision was such that he gave priority to "the rule of morally qualified officials" (*ren zhi*) over "the rule by legislation" (*fa zhi*). Take, for instance, his commentary on the hexagrams "Jin" (Advance, #35) and "Mingyi" (Darkening of the Light, #36). Like "Tai" and "Pi," the hexagrams "Jin" and "Mingyi" are opposite. "Jin" consists of a "Kun" lower trigram (three *yin* lines) and a "Li" upper trigram (one *yin* line sandwiched by two *yang* lines). Conversely, "Mingyi" comprises a "Li" lower trigram and a "Kun" upper trigram. In addition, the meanings of the two hexagrams are opposite. Whereas "Jin" refers to the celebration of progress, "Mingyi" describes the dampening of mood due to recent setback. For Cheng Yi, this pair of opposite hexagrams shows the importance of putting the right people in the government.

As a hexagram, ["Mingyi"] consists of a "Kun" upper trigram and a "Li" lower trigram, and symbolizes light hidden underneath the earth. Since "Mingyi" is the reverse of "Jin," its meaning is the reverse as well. "Jin" represents brightness and prosperity; it refers to a time when an enlightened ruler (*ming jun*) brings good people into the government. "Mingyi" represents the darkening of light; it refers to a time when an unenlightened ruler (*an jun*) brings harm to good people.⁷¹

Seemingly plain and conventional, Cheng Yi's interpretation of "Jin" and "Mingyi" had a special meaning to the reform debate of the late Northern Song. As recent studies have shown, Wang Anshi's reforms presented a vision of government drastically different from that of his opponent, Sima Guang. "Their views," says Peter Bol, "presented the literati with a classic choice between an activist government, which sought to manage social and economic developments in the interest of all, and a more limited government, which sought to maintain necessary public institutions at minimum expense to private inter-

ests.”⁷² The central issue in this reform debate was the assessment of mid-Northern Song problems. Both sides agreed that the government of the mid-Northern Song was plagued with problems, particularly the tremendous size of its army, the large number of officials in its bureaucracy, and its enormous government spending. However, the two groups of reformers disagreed on what caused those problems. Whereas the supporters of Wang’s reforms regarded the problems as structural requiring drastic and extensive measures to correct them, the supporters of Sima Guang’s reforms considered the problems as minor needing only a few changes. Moreover, in the reform debate, both groups presented their methods of governing as part of “the grand tradition of the ancestors” (*zuzong zhi fa*), but they had different “ancestors” in mind. For the supporters of Sima’s reforms, they looked back to Fan Zhongyan’s ten-point reform of the Renzong reign (1023–1063) for justification to improve the selection of officials. For the supporters of Wang’s reforms, the New Policies of the Shenzong era (1068–1085) were their model to bring wealth and power to the empire through government intervention in trade and economy.⁷³

In this regard, Cheng Yi’s interpretation of “Jin” and “Mingyi” clearly shows where he stood in the late Northern Song reform debate. Between reforming the selection of officials and reforming the structure of government, he preferred the former to the latter. Between inheriting “the grand tradition” of Renzong and that of Shenzong, he preferred the early model to the later model. For him, good government required a discerning ruler who knew how to put good people in the government. Like the ebb and flow of the *yin* and the *yang*, the political prospects of the Song government would swing back and forth between good government under an “enlightened ruler” (*ming jun*) and bad government under an “unenlightened ruler” (*an jun*). With or without drastic political restructuring, there would be no end to this swing. What the civil bureaucrats had to do, according to Cheng Yi, was to prepare themselves for both circumstances. In times of good government, they served in the bureaucracy and ruled the empire with the emperor (as hexagram “Jin” had suggested). In times of bad government, they looked for alternatives and waited for the next round of good government to come (as hexagram “Mingyi” had recommended).

Protecting One's Interest by Forming a Faction

If indeed the battle between the great men and the petty people would last for a long time, as Cheng Yi repeatedly claimed, then what should the Northern Song educated elite do politically and socially to prepare themselves for this incessant struggle? This question was particularly relevant to the late-eleventh-century readers of the *Yichuan yizhuan*, for they were experiencing round after round of political rivalry. For this reason, it is not surprising to find Cheng Yi address this question in many parts of his commentary.

The advice that Cheng Yi gave to the civil bureaucrats was to protect their interests by forming a faction (*dang*). As mentioned earlier, “Tai” consists of a “Qian” lower trigram (three *yang* lines) and a “Kun” upper trigram (three *yin* lines). In his commentary on “Tai,” Cheng Yi considered the “Qian” lower trigram as the faction of great men, and the “Kun” upper trigram as the faction of petty people. Hence, in explaining why the line statement of the first line of “Tai” makes reference to “pulling up ribbon grass,”⁷⁴ he wrote:

To advance, the great men have to group together. It is not merely for the sake of their shared view or their common predisposition, but also for helping one another. Therefore, whether a great man or a petty person, one cannot stand still. He must find companions and seek the assistance from his own kind.⁷⁵

Like bundles of ribbon grass, Cheng Yi considered the great men and the petty people separate groups. They were together to lend support to one another and to advance their collective interests in factional politics.

In the same vein, Cheng Yi read the hexagrams “Bo” (Splitting Apart, #23) and “Fu” (Return, #24) as groupings of the great men and the petty people. Both “Bo” and “Fu” consist of five *yin* lines and one *yang* line, with *yin* in overwhelming majority and *yang* in absolute minority. Thus, according to Cheng Yi, in the two hexagrams the five *yin* lines form a “faction” to suppress the lone *yang* line. There is, however, a significant difference. In “Bo,” the lone *yang* line is located at the top, having been pushed by the five *yin* lines to the edges of the hexagram. In “Fu,” the lone *yang* line is at the bottom, a fresh force to challenge the dominance of the five *yin* lines. To explain why the solitary *yang* in “Fu” is better located than that in “Bo,” Cheng Yi wrote:

At this stage [of “Fu”], the solitary *yang* is extremely weak. It cannot defeat the formidable group of *yin* lines to give birth to the myriad things. To carry out its task of giving birth to the myriad things, it has to wait for the arrival of other *yang* lines. Hence, [the hexagram line statement says:] “Friends come, without blame.”⁷⁶ . . . That is to say, the Way of the great men returns after a period of diminution. But at this initial stage of return, the great men will not be able to defeat the petty people. To defeat them, the great men need to work with their own kind and wait for their growth of power.⁷⁷

Like what he said about “the ribbon grass” in “Tai,” Cheng Yi was concerned with grouping with one’s own kind. Certainly there is only one *yang* line in “Fu” and it is powerless compared to its formidable opponents. But the solitary *yang* line in “Fu” has an advantage that is lacking in its counterpart in “Bo.” It is located at the beginning of the hexagram, which means that it has plenty of time to wait for help. As the *yin* gradually loses its control, the solitary *yang* will have the opportunity to seek assistance from its own kind and challenge the dominance of *yin*.

New Meaning of Coruling the Empire

In the late Northern Song, Cheng Yi’s position on factionalism was controversial. For decades, the civil bureaucrats had been debating whether they should form factions to advance their interests. The debate began in 1044 when the eunuch Lan Yuanzhen accused Fan Zhongyan of forming a faction with Yin Zhu (1001–1047), Yu Jing (1000–1064), Cai Xiang (1012–1067), and Ouyang Xiu to promote reform.⁷⁸ Lan’s accusation triggered a fury of countermemorials from Fan’s supporters, thus formally opening the debate on bureaucratic factionalism in the Northern Song.⁷⁹ After decades of debate, there were at least four different perspectives on bureaucratic factionalism.

The first perspective, advanced by Sun Fu (998–1057), held that only petty people formed factions.⁸⁰ For Sun, since the civil bureaucrats, the corulers of the empire, identified with the interests of the emperor, they had no need to form factions. Hence, bureaucratic factionalism was an indication of civil bureaucrats betraying their mission to corule the empire with the emperor. The second perspective, suggested by Yin Zhu, blamed the emperor for creating bureaucratic factionalism.⁸¹ He argued that the emperor created an environment

for bureaucratic factionalism to arise when he drastically shifted his direction in governing. Those policies the emperor supported would be called “the views of all”; those policies he disliked would become “opinions aired by a faction.” Bureaucratic factionalism was therefore nothing but the emperor’s excuse for changing his policies.

The third perspective, made known by Fan Zhongyan, accepted factionalism as an integral part of government politics.⁸² According to Fan, bureaucratic factionalism was unavoidable because civil bureaucrats tended to divide into groups in accordance with their common interests and shared perspectives. Hence, there was nothing intrinsically good or bad about factionalism, but a fact that rulers and officials had to live with. To support his view, Fan Zhongyan quoted from a statement in the opening paragraph of the *Xici*, which said: “Events follow definite trends, each according to its nature. Things are distinguished from one another in definite classes.”⁸³ Decades before Cheng Yi wrote his commentary, the *Yijing* had served as the *locus classicus* in support of bureaucratic factionalism.

The fourth perspective, expressed by Ouyang Xiu, was the most complex.⁸⁴ It built on the third perspective but also modified it. On the one hand, Ouyang agreed with Fan Zhongyan that bureaucratic factionalism was a result of the human natural tendency to form groups according to common interests. On the other hand, he argued that there is a categorical distinction between the “genuine faction” (*zhen peng*) of the great men and the “fake faction” (*jia peng*) of the petty people. Whereas the former was based on long-term interests and the desire to serve the common good of the empire, the latter was built on immediate concerns and personal interests. While the former would last for a long time and contribute to the well-being of the empire, the latter was subversive and would quickly disappear once their immediate needs had been satisfied.

Despite their differences, these four perspectives on bureaucratic factionalism addressed one fundamental issue of Northern Song civil governance: whether the civil bureaucrats should create their own power base in government to advance their interests. The heart of the matter was how the emperor and the civil bureaucrats viewed their partnership in coruling the empire. From the emperor’s perspective, since civil governance was to replace the military governance of the late Tang and the Five Dynasties Period, he would not want to see groups of powerful civil officials dominate the Song government in the way that groups of military generals and aristocratic families had

done in the ninth and tenth centuries. By “coruling the empire,” the emperor meant the civil bureaucrats’ wholehearted service to him, as well as their total submission to his absolute rule. For this reason, the Northern Song emperors, especially Emperors Taizu and Taizong, took various measures to make certain that no single group of civil bureaucrats would dominate the government. One of these measures was the separation of power. A prime example was separating the administrative branch of the government from the military and the financial branches, such that the three agencies operated independently. Another measure was check and balance. It gave the censors—originally a low-ranking post—the mission to monitor civil bureaucrats of all ranks. Reporting directly to the emperor, the censors became the emperor’s personal agents to check the power of civil bureaucrats.⁸⁵

For the civil bureaucrats, civil governance was a partnership between equals. As corulers of the empire, they felt that they had the duty and moral obligation to build a good government. For them, there was no way to build a good government without putting good people in the government, and there was no way to govern the empire effectively without diverse opinions being expressed in policy debates. Forming a power bloc with like-minded colleagues was therefore a means to ensure good government, and a measure to check the autocracy of the emperor. As the mid-Northern Song reform debate gradually tore the fabric of the literati community, it had become politically necessary for civil bureaucrats to form factions. For them, forming factions was an essential part of the political game and an indispensable safety net if things turned bad.

Compared with the other four perspectives on bureaucratic factionalism, Cheng Yi’s view was unique. On the one hand, adopting the view of Fan Zhongyan and Ouyang Xiu, he regarded bureaucratic factionalism as a necessary part of governing to allow different interest groups to express their views. However, unlike Ouyang Xiu, he found no need to distinguish the “genuine factions” of great men from the “fake factions” of petty people. For him, whether great men or petty people, the civil bureaucrats were entitled to form their own factions. As corulers of the empire, they were equal to the emperor in shouldering the responsibility for building good government. Because of that, they should have the right to form their own power base beyond the emperor’s control. On the other hand, like Yin Zhu, Cheng Yi took the emperor to task for allowing bureaucratic factionalism to appear. He argued that if the emperor was an “enlightened ruler,” he should be

able to separate the great men from the petty people, and to recruit only the great men into his government. Turning the table against the emperor, Cheng Yi suggested that the existence of bureaucratic factionalism was testimony to the emperor's failure in distinguishing the good people from the bad.

Thus, in the final years of Cheng Yi's life, when he was writing the *Yichuan yizhuan* at his exile home in Sichuan, he was reexamining the role of the educated elite in the age of factional politics. By expanding the meaning of the coruling of civil bureaucrats, Cheng Yi made something good out of eleventh-century factional politics. In emphasizing the need for civil bureaucrats to form their own factions in government and to transform society through moral education, he gave the educated elite a new identity. This new identity was quite different from that of the 1030s and 1040s. From the civil bureaucrats' mission of Hu Yuan's times to rule the world *politically*, we now see a new image of the men of letters, who would rule the world *socially* by teaching the country how to live in ethical ways.⁸⁶ For Cheng Yi and many literati in the 1080s and 1090s, civil governance meant not only letting talented civil bureaucrats into the bureaucracy to govern the country, it also meant a long process of social and educational reform that would train generation after generation of moral persons, who would serve the country in different capacities ranging from school teachers to supervisors of rituals. As the new men of letters, the late Northern Song educated elite would first establish their footing in society as scholar-literati, and then, when political circumstances allowed, serve in government as scholar-officials. Whether being "a sage inwardly" or "a king outwardly," they knew that they were ruling the empire with the emperor.

Su Shi's Yijing Commentary

As a critic of Wang Anshi's New Policies, Cheng Yi headed a faction within the antireform group known as the "faction from the Luoyang area" (*Luo dang*). During the 1080s and 1090s, Cheng Yi's faction rivaled Su Shi's, the "faction from Sichuan" (*Shu dang*), in contention for leadership within the antireform group.⁸⁷ Following the rise and fall in the fortunes of the antireform group, Cheng Yi was several times disgraced, banished, and rehabilitated. The same was true of Su Shi, who was exiled to far-flung places like the northern borders and Hainan Island. During his prolonged exile, from 1079 to 1100,⁸⁸

Su Shi composed his commentary to the *Yijing*, *Dongpo yizhuan* (A commentary on the *Yi* by [Su] Dongpo), which included notes and writings of his father, Su Xun (1009–1066), and his younger brother, Su Zhe.⁸⁹ Like Cheng Yi, Su Shi took the occasion of writing an *Yijing* commentary to come to terms with major setbacks in his life. Also like Cheng Yi, he used the *Yijing* to address the pressing political problems of the late Northern Song.⁹⁰ Despite their different views in politics, these two exegetes found a common cause in reinterpreting the *Yijing* for their eleventh-century readers.

Among the Northern Song *Yijing* exegetes we have discussed, Su Shi was special in his unfailing support of Wang Bi's interpretation of the classic. In the *Dongpo yizhuan* he cited Wang Bi so many times that the editors of *Siku quanshu* felt it necessary to describe the commentary as "largely similar to Wang Bi's."⁹¹ By frequently citing Wang Bi and elaborating on points he made, Su Shi honored him as the best exegete of the *Yijing*. Although he did not explicitly discuss the reversion from *you* to *wu*—the main theme of Wang Bi in his commentary on the hexagram "Fu," and the focus of Han Kangbo and Kong Yingda in their commentaries on the *Xici*—Su Shi was greatly interested in the human cognitive process to find one's roots in the universe. As Peter Bol summarizes, Su Shi described the process as one of three stages. The first stage is "movement upstream toward the source," freeing one from the humdrum of daily affairs to acquire a broader perspective on life. The second stage is "attaining unity with the source," seeing the universe from the perspective of the whole. The third stage is "returning downstream" to handle daily affairs with spontaneity, purpose, and ease.⁹² These three stages, which Bol calls "knowledge, unity, and practice," reveal Su Shi's debt to the *Zhouyi zhengyi*.

In many respects, Su Shi's cognitive process is similar to Shao Yong's "reflective perception" (*fan guan*). It is designed to help one find peace in life by linking an individual with the entire universe, and is intended to direct moral actions rather than to satisfy philosophical curiosity. Also like Shao Yong, Su Shi found support for an expanded vision of the universe in the *Shuogua*. As already discussed in the last chapter, the first paragraph of the *Shuogua* links "reaching destiny" (*zhi ming*) with "exhausting the principle of the universe" (*qiong li*) and "completing human nature" (*jing xing*). For Shao Yong, the *Shuogua* paragraph connects an individual with the myriad things based on the common principle of the universe. For Su Shi, the *Shuogua* paragraph also connects one with the universe, but it does so by describing the

mental process to trace one's roots in the universe. Using an analogy of a river, Su Shi explained the process:

What do we mean by moving upstream and downstream? The answer is that they refer to one's transformation in moral cultivation. A river tends to move downward. [Thus, in moral cultivation] we need to move upstream to reach the source that gives rise to the method of divination, the numbers, the trigrams, and the hexagram lines. There, we will be fully informed of the feelings of the myriad things. A sage cannot establish himself morally by staying downstream, because he does not have a view of the whole and an ability to fully respond to changes. For this reason, he has to return to the source by moving upstream. . . . After a sage has understood the principle of nature and destiny, he follows the river downstream to exhaust changes. He takes one thing at a time and looks at it from both sides [of the argument]. He prepares grounds for generation and regeneration, as it is said "taking action to assist people by considering the two sides [of the argument]."⁹³

As Su Shi explains, the first two stages of locating one's roots in the universe involve going upstream. In going upstream, one attains the knowledge of the whole and the unity with the universe. It is the reversion from the part to the whole. After attaining knowledge and unity, the third stage of cognitive process commences. The learner will go downstream to practice what he has learned in the humdrum of daily affairs. It is the reversion from the whole to the part. For Su Shi, whether it is from the part to the whole or from the whole to the part, the learner gains a broader perspective on life and a renewed commitment to serve the human community.

Coming to Terms with Factional Politics

Despite the fact that Su Shi stressed the need for broadening one's perspective on life, he differed from Wang Bi and Shao Yong in applying one's broadened view to politics. Unlike them, he did not see moral cultivation merely as a change in one's perspective, a better control of one's behavior, or a systematic effort to shape social conduct. For him, moral cultivation also involved making the right arguments in political debate, anticipating the consequences of a political act, and understanding both the benefit and harm of involving oneself in court politics. Part of the goal of moral cultivation was, in his mind, to allow one to adapt

to the changing political landscape, and to continue to flourish despite changes in the political wind. Again, Su Shi used the analogy of a river to explain his political view. In commenting on the hexagram “Xikan” (The Abyss, #29), he focused on the hexagram line which discusses how one can avoid the danger of falling into an abyss.⁹⁴

The myriad things take forms, but the river does not. It takes the form of its surroundings. By convention, we find things that take forms trustworthy, and those that do not take forms untrustworthy. And yet a square can be made into a circle, and a twisted object can be straightened. These examples show that we cannot put our trust in forms. Turning to the river, it does not have constant form but takes the form of its surroundings. This is a fact that we are absolutely certain about, and this is the model for the superior person. Since a river does not have constant form, it does not hurt anything that stands in its way. Because it never hurts anything, it does not lose its credibility even when it reaches a dangerous spot. From this perspective, a river has the greatest credibility in the world.⁹⁵

The reason Su Shi was so fond of the river allegory was that it conveyed two important messages. First, the river is always on the move. As such, it is a perfect symbol of the dynamic universe that never stops moving. Second, the river is adaptable to its surroundings. It does not compete with its environments; rather, it attempts to become part of them. Being so, the river is both weak and strong. It is weak when one looks at its adjustment to its surroundings; it is strong when one focuses on its will to move on despite obstacles.⁹⁶

One may say that Su Shi’s river analogy was not new. For centuries before the Northern Song, *Yijing* exegetes had been describing *yin* as both weak and strong. To underscore the double nature of *yin*, the *Yijing* exegetes (including Wang Bi, Han Kangbo, and Kong Yingda) had employed such symbols as the earth and a mare to draw attention to the persistence of *yin* in spite of its yielding appearance.⁹⁷ Conventional as it might seem, Su Shi’s river analogy carried a special meaning to his eleventh-century readers; namely, that one needed to learn from the river to go beyond factional politics. For instance, in commenting on the hexagram “Huan” (Dispersion, #59), Su Shi invoked the river analogy to explain why the hexagram statement refers to, somewhat paradoxically, a king making sacrifices to the deities while his country is in disarray.⁹⁸

When the world is in order, it is like a river flowing downward following its own course. When the world is in disorder, it is like a river bursting into different directions. The river, by nature, does not like to burst into different directions. It floods everywhere only because something has been done against its nature. Those who have done something against the nature of the river will soon lose their power, or they will come to their senses. As for the river, it will find its own course again. In ancient times, good rulers never competed with people. They let them choose what they wanted to do, and gave them guidance. In referring to dispersion, [the hexagram 'Huan'] describes the fragmentation and disintegration in the country, resulting in people losing their homes. This is time [for an assertive ruler] to make efforts in putting things back in order.⁹⁹

For Su Shi, the river analogy brings out two characteristics of political fragmentation. First, it describes political fragmentation as an exception, as opposed to the norm of political harmony. Just like the river, which by nature flows smoothly downward, Su Shi reminds his readers that politics is supposed to bring people together, not divide them. Second, the river analogy identifies the cause of political fragmentation as a ruler's poor judgment. Just as the river floods its banks because some people block its natural course, political fragmentation occurs when a ruler fails to listen to the demands of the ruled and governs his country dictatorially. We do not know whether Su Shi had the power struggle between proreform and antireform groups in mind when he wrote this commentary on "Huan," but to his eleventh-century readers, who were encountering rounds of factional rivalry, it must have been comforting to read the commentary.

To an extent, Su Shi's river analogy fulfilled the same function as the *Xugua* did for Cheng Yi. It rendered political rivalry as a natural phenomenon that runs its own course, and put the blame for causing political fragmentation squarely on the shoulders of the Song emperor. However, there are also significant differences. Unlike Cheng Yi's reading of the *Xugua*, which rationalized a constant battle between the great men and the petty people, Su Shi's river analogy predicted an end to political fragmentation. Whereas in commenting on the *Xugua* Cheng Yi called on the civil bureaucrats to form factions to advance their interests, Su Shi's river analogy looked to a sagely ruler to bring peace and harmony to the government. Perhaps naively optimistic, Su Shi's belief in political reconciliation gave him a unique perspective in interpreting some hexagrams. For instance, he considered "Tai"

(Peace, #11) superior to “Dazhuang” (Power of the Great, #34) and “Guai” (Resolution, #43).¹⁰⁰ On the surface, he suggested, “Tai” looks inferior because there are only three *yang* lines in the hexagram, equal in number with the *yin* lines. In contrast, “Dazhuang” and “Guai” have more *yang* lines than *yin* lines, clearly giving the *yang* the advantage over the *yin*. But precisely because the *yang* lines are dominant in “Dazhuang” and “Guai,” they tend to bully, putting pressure on the *yin* lines to comply with their views. According to Su Shi, this dominance of the *yang* will only lead to one result: the determination of the *yin* to fight back. In “Tai” however, since both sides are in equal force, the balance of power will keep them in peace.

Another example of Su Shi’s unique reading of the hexagrams is his comparison of “Bi” (Holding Together, #8) with “Tongren” (Fellowship, #13).¹⁰¹ At first glance, the two hexagrams look similar. Both suggest broadening one’s social network and making friends with strangers. For Su Shi, however, there was a major difference. Focusing on the hexagram’s image, he argued that “Bi” was a better hexagram than “Tongren” because it consisted of water (the *kun* trigram) at the bottom and earth (the *kan* trigram) at the top, denoting an openness in working with opponents. Here, as in the river analogy, water and earth are symbols of the will to yield. In contrast, “Tongren” is made up of fire (the *li* trigram) at the bottom and heaven (the *qian* trigram) at the top, symbolizing a selective grouping built on a narrow political view. For Su Shi, the fellowship in “Tongren” is, in essence, a political faction that excludes opponents.

In comparison, one may say that Cheng Yi was more pragmatic than Su Shi in coming to terms with factional politics. Instead of pinning his hope on a sagely ruler and wishing for tolerance in his opponents, Cheng Yi called on the civil bureaucrats to strengthen their power by forming factions in government and increasing their influence on society through moral teaching. However, in calling for more factional politics and fierce competition for social capital, he also added fuel to the fire, causing more discord and fragmentation in civil governance. Su Shi, by contrast, might have been too optimistic in hoping for an end to factional politics. He might also have been overly idealistic in wishing his opponents to settle political differences through peaceful means. Yet, in calling for harmony and reconciliation at the height of factional politics, Su Shi appeared to have a cooler head than Cheng Yi. He realized that letting factional politics continue without end would gravely damage Northern Song civil governance, particularly

the “corulership” between civil bureaucrats and the Song emperor. Unfortunately, in the remaining years of the Northern Song, the majority of civil bureaucrats adopted Cheng Yi’s view. Worst still, this trend continued during much of the Southern Song, resulting in rounds of bureaucratic factionalism.¹⁰²

Conclusion

Shortly after the Song imperial court was relocated to Hangzhou in 1138, efforts were made to compile, edit, and categorize the Northern Song *Yijing* commentaries. Among the first to do so was Chao Gongwu (ca. 1102–1187), who offered thoughtful and comprehensive comments on the Northern Song commentaries.¹ Especially valuable are his notes on the commentaries of Shi Jie and Wang Anshi because they are the only information about them available to us. At the same time, Chao's notes set the tone for later discussion of the Northern Song *Yijing* commentaries. Reflecting the view of his times, he regarded the Northern Song *Yijing* commentaries as an extension of the Wang Bi style of moral and philosophical reading of the classic. To show his preference, he reversed the chronological order of his comments. He began his notes with comments on the *Zhouyi zhu* and the *Zhouyi zhengyi* of the Wei and Tang periods, followed by those on the Western and Eastern Han commentaries.² To drive home his point, he mentioned repeatedly how greatly the Northern Song exegetes had been influenced by Wang Bi's interpretation of the classic.³

However, Chao Gongwu's view was not universally accepted in the Southern Song. Zhu Zhen (1072–1138), for instance, believed that the Northern Song *Yijing* commentaries were derived from the diagram school established by Chen Tuan during the Five Dynasties Period

and the early Northern Song. In his memorial to Emperor Gaozong, Zhu listed three genealogies of transmission that covered most of the major Northern Song *Yijing* exegetes including Shao Yong, Liu Mu, Zhou Dunyi, Zhang Zai, and Cheng Yi.⁴ Each genealogy was based on one particular diagram or set of diagrams: Chen Tuan's "Before Birth Diagram" (*Xiantian tu*), Zhong Fang's "River Diagram" (*He tu*) and "Book from Luo River" (*Luo shu*), and Mu Xiu's (979–1032) "Diagram of the Great Ultimate" (*Taiji tu*).⁵ Half way between Chao Gongwu and Zhu Zhen was Zhu Xi, who regarded the Northern Song *Yijing* commentaries as a mixture of the Wang Bi and the diagram commentarial schools.⁶ To underscore the relation between the two commentarial schools, he traced the diagram school to the original *Yijing* text of the Zhou dynasty, which he claimed was a manual for divination. And then, he linked the Wang Bi commentarial school to the Ten Wings, which he thought were written by Confucius to transform the *Yijing* into a moral and philosophical text. Finally, he argued that despite their apparent differences, the two commentarial schools actually carried the same message of the *Yijing* because of "the same origin of substance and function, and the inseparability between what is manifested and what is implied."⁷ For Zhu Xi, the goal of examining the Northern Song *Yijing* commentaries was not to find out which commentarial school was dominant; rather, it was to distinguish the genuine "Confucian" commentaries (e.g., Cheng Yi's) from the misguided ones (e.g., Su Shi's).⁸

Throughout the Yuan, Ming, and Qing periods, as Zhu Xi's commentary (combined with Cheng Yi's) was enshrined as the official *Yijing* commentary tested in the civil service examinations, his view became the standard interpretation of Northern Song *Yijing* commentaries. In the eighteenth century, to reiterate what had already been an accepted view of the Northern Song *Yijing* studies, the editors of *Siku quanshu* wrote:

Not being far removed from the ancient times, the Han scholars continued to discuss [the *Yijing*] based on images and numbers. On their basis, Jing [Fang, 77–37 B.C.E.] and Jiao [Yanshou] used the *Yijing* to seek blessings from the deities, and then, Chen [Tuan] and Shao [Yong] attempted to comprehend the transformation of the universe. As a result, the *Yijing* was no longer applied to people's daily life. [In interpreting the *Yijing*.] Wang Bi totally abandoned images and numbers, and adopted the perspectives of Laozi and

Zhuangzi. Building on his view, Hu Yuan and Master Cheng [Yi] began to [use the *Yijing*] to elucidate the Confucian principles, and then, Li Guang [1076–1159] and Yang Wanli [1121–1204] employed historical events to support [their interpretations of the *Yijing*]. Thus, debates and discussions on how to read the *Yijing* abound, and supporters of the two [commentarial] schools and the six sub-schools attacked one another.⁹

Like Zhu Xi, the *Siku quanshu* editors considered the Northern Song *Yijing* commentaries as merely an extension of the two preexisting *Yijing* commentarial schools—the “image and number” (*xiangshu*) school of Jing Feng and Jiao Yanshou of the Western Han period, and the “meaning and principle” (*yili*) school of Wang Bi of the Wei period. Certainly, the *Siku quanshu* editors were ready to credit the Northern Song exegetes for expanding the two commentarial schools to make them the bases for the post-eleventh-century *Yijing* commentarial tradition. Yet, in their eyes, the Northern Song exegetes were more transmitters of the past than innovators who linked the past to the present.

This view of the Northern Song *Yijing* commentaries—which remains popular among contemporary scholars¹⁰—is predicated upon what John Henderson calls “the comprehensiveness of the Confucian canon.”¹¹ Assuming that everything about the human and natural worlds has already been included in the *Yijing*, the *Siku quanshu* editors consider the main task of an exegete as recovering the original meaning of the *Yijing*. Whether an exegete adopts the “image and number” school or the “meaning and principle” school, the key issue for him is not methodology but how accurate he is in capturing the original intent of the *Yijing* authors in ancient times. On this score, the Han exegetes always had an advantage over later exegetes, because they were closer to the ancient times. By the same token, Wang Bi was privileged as being born in the third century because he was, on the one hand, not too far removed from the ancient times, and on the other, fortunate enough to be at the right time to initiate changes to address the deficiencies of the Han exegetes. For the Northern Song exegetes, however, their role was limited. With the major questions about interpreting the classic already settled, what they could do was to follow the preexisting commentarial styles so that the original meaning of the *Yijing* would be accurately conveyed for generations to come.

Text, Tradition, and Time

As shown in the last three chapters, the Northern Song *Yijing* exegetes were far more creative than what the *Siku quanshu* editors described. In their differing renditions of the classic, it is clear that there were three-way interactions between the classic, its commentarial tradition, and the historical time of its commentators.¹² In the interactions of text, tradition, and time, the *Yijing* was given new meaning in a new historical context. With respect to the text, despite their differing interpretations, the Northern Song exegetes responded to a set of core questions raised in the *Yijing*. The core questions included: What causes changes to take place in the universe? Are changes in the universe random or systematic? What role do humans play in the changes of the universe? What can humans do to come to terms with flux and uncertainty? Furthermore, these questions of change were raised in different ways in different parts of the text. In the sixty-four hexagrams, they were insinuated in the intricate relationships between hexagrams and hexagram lines, and the ways in which these relationships produced the opportunity for change. In the appendixes to the *Yijing*, they were raised as cosmological and ethical issues (as in the *Xici* and the *Shuogua*), or as a sequence of events (as in the *Xugua*). As a whole, for the Northern Song exegetes, the *Yijing* was true to its title. It was indeed the classic that provided advice to anyone who was in the midst of change.

With respect to tradition, the profound questions of change in the *Yijing* were given additional potency in the eleventh century through the mediation of Wang Bi, Han Kangbo, and Kong Yingda. As the official Northern Song commentary of the *Yijing*, the *Zhouyi zhengyi* of Wang, Han, and Kong transmitted the received commentarial tradition to the Northern Song exegetes. By presenting changes as various manifestations of *you* and *wu*, the three exegetes transformed the *Yijing* questions of change into questions about the sociopolitical order, particularly questions concerning the relationship between the ruler and the ruled, the emperor and the officials, and the center and the periphery. As such, for the Northern Song exegetes, the *Yijing*'s "call to attention" was intertwined with their search for a new sociopolitical order to break from the Tang legacy. In reading the *Yijing*, they were not only contemplating the abstract questions of the nature of change, but also the concrete issues of how to reinvent the Tang system to create a lasting social and political structure, how to articulate the self-identity

of the educated elite in times of civil governance, and how to resolve the fiscal and administrative problems of the mid-Northern Song.

As we have found, the Northern Song exegetes did respond to the core questions of the *Yijing* by reflecting on the sociopolitical changes of their times. For Hu Yuan, Li Gou, and Ouyang Xiu, the *Yijing* spoke directly to civil bureaucrats, who replaced the aristocratic scholar-officials as the corulers of the Northern Song. In their attempts to render the *Yijing* anew for the emboldened civil bureaucrats, they focused on the sixty-four hexagrams and the *Xici* to spell out what they considered the call to human activism in the *Yijing*. For Zhang Zai, Sima Guang, and Shao Yong, the *Yijing* offered answers to the quandaries of civil bureaucrats when the Song government failed to provide jobs to successful examinees. They built their moral metaphysics on the *Xici* and *Shuogua*, and encouraged the educated elite to expand their coruling with the Song emperor by cultivating “a sage inwardly.” For Cheng Yi and Su Shi, they were impressed by the *Yijing*’s metanarrative of human history. They drew insights from the *Xugua* and *Shuogua* to alleviate the civil bureaucrats’ anxiety in times of political rivalry.

Because the Northern Song exegetes brought their existential concerns into the *Yijing* text, we find that the same *Yijing* statements—for example, “Hidden Dragon. Do not Act,” “The Heart of Heaven and Earth,” and “That which has a *yin* and a *yang* is called the Way”—gave rise to multiple interpretations. In these differing interpretations, we find the Northern Song exegetes responding to both the past and the present. First, in rendering the *Yijing* differently, they challenged the authority of the *Zhouyi zhengyi*. In taking up the burdensome task of reinterpreting the *Yijing*, the Northern Song exegetes believed that their commentaries would one day supersede those of Wang Bi, Han Kangbo, and Kong Yingda. Although none of them claimed that their commentaries would capture the “true meaning” (*zhengyi*) of the *Yijing* as Kong Yingda had three centuries earlier, they believed their commentaries were more faithful in responding to the *Yijing*’s questions of change. For instance, in the *Zhouyi kouyi*, Hu Yuan stated that his understanding of the word *yi* of *Yijing* was not only better, but also more authentic, than Kong Yingda’s. Likewise, Ouyang Xiu was confident that he made a major breakthrough in the studies of the *Yijing* by sorting out the authorship of the Ten Wings. The same was true of Zhang Zai who, focusing on the dichotomy of *you* and *wu*, blamed previous commentators (particularly Han Kangbo and Kong Yingda) for failing to present the true spirit of the *Yijing*. For Cheng

Yi and Su Shi, they believed they had rendered the *Yijing* questions of change more directly to the embattled civil bureaucrats than had the *Zhouyi zhengyi*.

As much as the Northern Song exegetes responded to the past in writing their commentaries, they responded to the present as well. As Daniel Gardner has pointed out, “for all of the variety and interpretative differences it manifests, the commentarial tradition is subject to and reflective of a distinctive historical logic.”¹³ The “distinctive historical logic” of the Northern Song *Yijing* commentaries is, of course, the sociopolitical changes of eleventh-century China. In current scholarship, historians may disagree on the degree of social mobility and whether fundamental social changes did take place, but they agree that the rise of the civil bureaucrats triggered unprecedented mobility in the Northern Song.¹⁴ In this regard, the *Yijing* commentaries of Hu Yuan, Li Gou, and Ouyang Xiu were a testimony to this rise of the civil bureaucrats. Through the medium of classical exegesis, the three exegetes attempted to instill a spirit of political activism in the civil bureaucrats so that they would see their personal interests intertwine with those of the Song Dynasty. Particularly telling is Hu Yuan’s exhortation to the civil bureaucrats to treat “the whole world as one family and the millions of people as having one sentiment.” It was, of course, an echo of Fan Zhongyan’s famous line, “one should be first in worrying about the world’s troubles and last in enjoying its pleasures.” More importantly, it was an eloquent summary of the self-sacrificing spirit of civil bureaucrats who believed they ruled the empire with the emperor.

However, as much as the civil service examination system was a ladder of success contributing to social mobility in the Northern Song, it was also a ladder of failure that brought tremendous amount of frustration and disillusionment to members of the educated elite. The examination system was, as John Chaffee calls it, “the thorny gates of learning” not merely because of the strenuous process in passing many levels of examination, but also because of the difficulty of transferring, through the examination system, the family fortunes to the next generation.¹⁵ Except for a handful of lucky ones (most notably Lü Mengzheng, 946–1011),¹⁶ after one or two generations the vast majority of civil bureaucrats could no longer produce successful candidates for the civil service examinations. Apparently, the families of Zhang Zai and Cheng Yi suffered from the downward mobility of the examination system. The two families lost much of their prestige

and fortune when their younger generations were not as successful in examinations. The same is true of Shao Yong. By refusing to take the civil service examinations and remaining throughout his life a semi-hermit, he was in practice a skeptic of this myth of upward mobility through learning. Reflecting the changes of their times, these three exegetes stressed the importance of moral cultivation, rather than joining the government as in Hu Yuan's generation. In hindsight, their moral metaphysics, which is commonly considered to be the foundation of Song-Ming *Daoxue*, was a way to alleviate the literati's pain and frustration resulting from their downward mobility. Their attempts to find nonpolitical means to achieve fulfillment demonstrated how the *Daoxue* could be, in Peter Bol's terms, "an alternative culture" of the literati allowing them to become members of the elite without holding official position.¹⁷

For this reason, contrary to the conventional picture that groups Hu Yuan, Zhang Zai, and Cheng Yi together as "the Masters of the Northern Song," there were major differences among them in interpreting the *Yijing*. One of the differences was how they rendered the classic to project an image of the literati. For Hu Yuan, the literati had no other choice but to become civil bureaucrats. The goal of Confucian education, according to him, was to train one to rule the empire with the emperor. While Hu Yuan's image of the literati fits the general picture of the transition from the aristocratic scholar-officials to the civil bureaucrats, Zhang Zai's and Cheng Yi's image of the literati is more complicated. In commenting on the *Yijing*, the two exegetes stressed both the political career and the social space of the literati. Expanding on Zhou Dunyi's famous line, they urged the literati to continue to "desire what Yi Yin desired" in trying to become civil bureaucrats, but they should first "learn what Yanzi learned" to increase their chances to be socially functional. Zhang Zai and Cheng Yi were very likely not alone in arguing for the literati's involvement in shaping social values and practices. As Patricia Ebrey has shown, many of their contemporaries also recognized the importance of ritual as "an alternative to force" and the role of practice in changing one's mode of thinking.¹⁸

To be sure, the literati's demand for an expanded social role was a response to the Song government's failure to assign jobs to successful examinees; however, one should not overlook the broader historical significance of this change in self-identity. In expanding the social role of the literati, Zhang Zai and Cheng Yi redefined, in effect, the nature of Northern Song civil governance. Rather than focusing their

attention on the political arena (as Hu Yuan did), they turned their attention to society. For them, the literati should capitalize on their status as educated elite, and should exert their influence in society by refining the moral code, prescribing a ritual system, and building a new curriculum in schools. Of course, their roles would be different under each circumstance, and they had to decide when would be the best time to shift those roles. Yet, they gained the liberty of choosing what was best for them in a given situation. This change in self-identity is vividly shown in Cheng Yi's commentary on the hexagrams "Jin" (Progress, #35) and "Mingyi" (Darkening of the Light, #36). In the past the literati had to depend on having an "enlightened emperor" (*ming jun*) to guarantee their success. Now, even if they had the bad luck to have an "unenlightened emperor" (*an jun*), they could still find ways to fulfill their dream of coruling the empire.

Toward a Historical Understanding of Northern Song Yijing Commentaries

In current scholarship, bureaucratic factionalism is often seen as a stumbling block to Northern Song political stability. Following the view of the Southern Song government, many historians see factionalism as the major cause of the downfall of the Northern Song.¹⁹ To be sure, this negative view of bureaucratic factionalism is founded on facts, such as decades of factional rivalry that destroyed the literati's solidarity and incapacitated the Northern Song government. At the same time, we need to be cautious about reading later historical views into Northern Song events.²⁰

An anomaly of this negative view on bureaucratic factionalism is that, during the Northern Song, factionalism was widely considered to be an integral part of bureaucratic politics. Ouyang Xiu's oft-quoted "A Discussion on Factionalism" (*Pengdang lun*), for instance, was a prime example of this Northern Song view on bureaucratic factionalism. In the essay, Ouyang argued that it is natural for the educated elite to group themselves into factions in accordance with their common interests, and that it is the ruler's responsibility to separate the "genuine factions" built on moral principle from the "fake factions" based on selfish interests. Perhaps not as articulate as Ouyang, other Northern Song scholar-officials such as Fan Zhongyan and Yin Zhu also expressed similarly positive assessments of bureaucratic factionalism. In recognition of this apparently widespread positive view on bureaucratic factionalism,

some Chinese scholars have recently adopted the term “the theory in support of the great men’s bureaucratic factionalism” (*junzi youdang lun*) to describe this particular Northern Song phenomenon.²¹

Like other Northern Song thinkers, we find Cheng Yi and Su Shi supporting bureaucratic factionalism. At first glance, Cheng Yi’s view on bureaucratic factionalism seems surprising. Considering the fact that for years he was engulfed in factional rivalry within his own antireform group and that he suffered tremendously from Cai Jing’s revenge because of his opposition to Wang Anshi’s reform, he should have been adamant in opposing bureaucratic factionalism. But, in writing the *Yichuan yizhuan*, he appears to have put aside his painful experience to address the issue of bureaucratic factionalism from the perspective of civil governance. Based on the assumption that the literati ruled the empire with the emperor, he argued that the literati should have the right to form their own groupings to protect their interests. In comparison, Su Shi was more moderate than Cheng Yi in his view on bureaucratic factionalism. He saw dangers in splitting civil bureaucrats into opposing camps and thereby paralyzing the government. Hence, in the *Dongpo yizhuan*, he suggested compromise to preserve the unity and integrity of civil governance. But as a moderate, Su Shi did not rule out bureaucratic factionalism. His goal was not to eliminate bureaucratic factionalism from the Song government, but to control the intensity of factional rivalry so that it would not disrupt the government.

Implicit in Cheng Yi’s and Su Shi’s support for bureaucratic factionalism was their acknowledgment of the dangers of imperial autocracy. As the “fellow travelers” of the Song emperors in building the civil governance, they knew that the literati were in a precarious situation. On the one hand, they were the Song emperors’ tools to check the power of the aristocratic families and military generals. On the other hand, in the name of coruling the empire, they were given an opportunity to order the world and to put in practice their political vision. Given this precarious situation, they needed some mechanisms to make certain that they did not become the puppets of an autocratic ruler. Bureaucratic factionalism, however unwelcome to our contemporary taste, was an effective way for them to limit the emperor’s power and to protect their right to dissent.

This Northern Song view on bureaucratic factionalism, as presented in the *Yichuan yizhuan* and *Dongpo yizhuan*, underscores the importance of understanding the history of Northern Song China

through a study of *Yijing* commentaries. For a long time, *Yijing* commentaries were judged by their effectiveness in clarifying the *Yijing* text, rather than their importance in showing historical changes. As shown in this study, there is much we can learn about the history of the Northern Song from the *Yijing* commentaries of the period. As historical documents, the Northern Song *Yijing* commentaries provide us with a unique perspective on how eleventh-century exegetes came to terms with the drastic changes of their times. Certainly, we should not overgeneralize the exegetes' views, because the writings we have examined in this study represent only a small fraction of the total number of *Yijing* commentaries produced in the Northern Song era. Yet, they reflect accurately and unmistakably the broad parameters, as well as the specific content, of an extremely important world of discourse—one that has been distorted by a failure to contextualize it adequately, leading in turn to persistent misunderstanding. Above all, the exegetes' differing views on the literati's role in civil governance show us how lively, diverse, and intense Northern Song intellectual life was, while reminding us of how important it is to understand the history of the period on its own terms.

Names and Images of the Eight Trigrams (In Fu Xi's order)

1. Qian 乾



2. Dui 兌



3. Li 離



4. Zhen 震



5. Xun 巽



6. Kan 坎



7. Gen 艮



8. Kun 坤



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Names and Images of the Sixty-four Hexagrams

1 Qian 乾 (The Creative)	2 Kun 坤 (The Receptive)	3 Tun 屯 (Difficulty at the Beginning)	4 Meng 蒙 (Youthful Folly)
			
5 Xu 需 (Waiting)	6 Song 訟 (Conflict)	7 Shi 師 (The Army)	8 Bi 比 (Holding Together)
			
9 Xiaoxu 小畜 (Taming Power of the Small)	10 Lü 履 (Treading)	11 Tai 泰 (Peace)	12 Pi 否 (Standstill)
			
13 Tongren 同人 (Fellowship)	14 Dayou 大有 (Possession in Great Measure)	15 Qian 謙 (Modesty)	16 Yu 豫 (Enthusiasm)
			
17 Sui 隨 (Following)	18 Gu 蠱 (Decay)	19 Lin 臨 (Approach)	20 Guan 觀 (Viewing)
			

21 Shike 噬嗑
(Biting Through)



22 Bi 賁
(Grace)



23 Bo 剝
(Splitting Apart)



24 Fu 復
(Return)



25 Wuwang 無妄
(No Errancy)



26 Daxu 大畜
(Taming Power of the Great)



27 Yi 頤
(Nourishment)



28 Daguo 大過
(Preponderance of the Great)



29 Xikan 習坎
(The Abyss)



30 Li 離
(Cohesion)



31 Xian 咸
(Reciprocity)



32 Heng 恆
(Perseverance)



33 Dun 遯
(Retreat)



34 Dazhuang 大壯
(Power of the Great)



35 Jin 晉
(Advance)



36 Mingyi 明夷
(Darkening of the Light)



37 Jiaren 家人
(The Family)



38 Kui 睽
(Opposition)



39 Jian 蹇
(Obstruction)



40 Xie 解
(Release)



41 Sun 損
(Diminution)



42 Yi 益
(Increase)



43 Guai 夬
(Resolution)



44 Gou 姤
(Encounter)



45 Cui 萃
(Gathering)



46 Sheng 升
(Climbing)



47 Kun 困
(Oppression)



48 Jing 井
(The Well)



49 Ge 革
(Revolution)



50 Ding 鼎
(The Caldron)



51 Zhen 震
(The Arousing)



52 Gen 艮
(Keeping Still)



53 Jian 漸
(Gradual
Advance)



54 Guimei 歸妹
(Marrying
Maiden)



55 Feng 豐
(Abundance)



56 Lü 旅
(The Wanderer)



57 Xun 巽
(The Gentle)



58 Dui 兌
(The Joyous)



59 Huan 渙
(Dispersion)



60 Jie 節
(Control)



61 Zhongfu 中孚
(Inner Trust)



62 Xiaoguo 小過
(Preponderance
of the Small)



63 Jiji 既濟
(Completion)



64 Weiji 未濟
(Incompletion)



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Notes

For full information for the works cited here in short form, see the bibliography. The following abbreviations are used in the notes:

QSW	<i>Quan Song wen</i>
SKQS	<i>Yingyin wenyuange siku quanshu</i>
SS	<i>Song shi</i>
SYXA	<i>Song Yuan xue'an</i>
XZZTJCB	<i>Xu zizhi tongjian changbian</i>

For the benefit of those who use other versions of these works, in citing them I provide the *juan* (chapter) number as well as the page number.

Introduction

1. Reference to and partial translation of the *Yijing* first appeared in Europe in 1687 in *Confucius Sinarum philosophus*, edited by the Jesuit Philippe Couplet (1623–1692). The first full translation of the *Yijing* in Latin was compiled and edited by the Jesuit Jean-Baptiste Régis (1664–1738). But no English translation of the classic appeared until a century later when Rev. Canon McClathchie (1814–1885) published, in 1876, *A Translation of the Confucius "Classic of Change"* in Shanghai. Then, James Legge (1815–1897), one of the greatest nineteenth-century translators of Chinese classics, published his translation of the *Yijing*, *The I Ching*, in 1882 as part of F. Max Müller's "The Sacred Books of the East." Legge's translation, for a long time considered to be the best English translation of the classic, was somewhat eclipsed in the 1950s by Richard Wilhelm's translation, originally done in German in the 1920s and rendered into English in 1950 by Cary F. Baynes. Accompanied by Carl Jung's preface, the Wilhelm/Baynes translation has been well received in the English-speaking world. Hellmut Wilhelm, the son of Richard Wilhelm, worked hard to promote the study of the *Yijing*, particularly after he relocated to the United States. Among his works is *Eight Lectures on the I Ching* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1960). For a critical review of the Western scholarship on the *Yijing*, see Iulian K. Shchutskii, *Researches on the I Ching* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980), 13–55; Richard Rutt, *The Book of Changes (Zhouyi): A Bronze Age Document Translated with Introduction and Notes* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002), 60–82.

2. Richard John Lynn, “Review of *Sung Dynasty Uses of the I Ching*,” *Journal of Sung-Yuan Studies* 27 (1997): 152.

3. On the importance of the Northern Song period in the history of *Yijing* commentary, see “Jingbu zongxu: Yi lei” (General preface to the classics: Category of Yi), *Siku Quanshu zongmu tiyao* (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1933), 2; Xu Qinting, “Songdai zhi yixue,” *Kongmeng xuebao*, 41 (1981): 173–207, 44 (1982): 79–114.

4. The list of publications of these scholars is long. Among the major ones are: E. A. Kracke Jr., “Family versus Merit in Chinese Civil Service Examinations under the Empire,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 10 (1947): 103–23, and “Region, Family, and Individual in the Chinese Examination System,” in John K. Fairbank, ed., *Chinese Thought and Institutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 251–68; John W. Chaffee, *The Thorny Gates of Learning in Sung China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995); Robert P. Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen: The Elite of Fuchou, Chiang-hsi, in Northern and Southern Sung* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Peter K. Bol, “*This Culture of Ours: Intellectual Transitions in T’ang and Sung China*” (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992).

5. For a discussion of the original layer of the *Yijing*, see Qian Jibo, *Zhouyi jieti ji qi dufa* (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1933), 1–15; Edward Shaughnessy, *I Ching (The Classic of Changes): The First English Translation of the Newly Discovered Second-Century B.C. Mawangdui Texts* (New York: Ballantine, 1996), 1–13. For a detailed discussion of the roles of trigrams and hexagrams in the original layer of the *Yijing*, see Hellmut Wilhelm, *Eight Lectures on the I Ching*, 35–63; Iulian Shchutskii, *Researches on the I Ching*, 129–57.

6. For a discussion of the Ten Wings, see Kidder Smith et al., *Sung Dynasty Uses of the I Ching* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990), 13–25.

7. For a study of the *Xici*, see Zhang Dainian, “Lun Yi Da Zhuan de zhushu niandai yu zhexue sixiang,” *Zhongguo zhexue*, 1 (1979): 121–43; Willard Peterson, “Making Connections: ‘Commentary on the Attached Verbalization’ of the *Book of Change*,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 42.1 (1982): 67–116.

8. For another rendition of this *Xici* statement, see Wilhelm/Baynes, *The I Ching* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), 287–89.

9. In chapter 2 of *Shuogua*, there is a discussion of the “Three Realms” similar to that in the *Xici*. The *Shuogua* chapter reads: “The *yin* and the *yang* are the foundations of the Way of Heaven, the soft and hard [of the hexagram lines] are the foundations of the Way of Earth, and the reciprocity and righteousness [among human beings] are the foundations of the Way of Humankind.” Cf. Wilhelm/Baynes, *The I Ching*, 264.

10. In *Divination, Order and the Zhouyi* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1999), Richard Gotshalk offers a translation of the *Yijing* as a divination text of the Zhou Dynasty. In the introduction of the book Gotshalk discusses how the *Yijing* provides the “knowledge of the future,” allowing one to have a sense of order in confronting the uncertainty of life. In a poetic manner, he describes the “knowledge of the future” of the *Yijing* as follows: “Life—personal and collective—is inherently an affair of change. In its temporality it involves movement into the unknown and the uncertain. Given

our natures we develop a capacity to anticipate what that movement is bringing, and because something is at stake for us in our participation in that movement, we desire to anticipate well what is coming and aided by that to share effectively in securing what is at stake as we encounter and interact with what we do” (37).

11. Robert M. Hartwell, “Demographic, Political, and Social Transformations of China, 750–1550,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 42.2 (1982): 354–442; Sun Guodong, “Tang Song zhiji shehui mendi zhi xiaorong,” *Xinya xuebao*, 4.1 (1959): 211–304; Chen Yiyuan, *Beisong tongzhi jieceng shehui liudong zhi yanjiu* (Taipei: Jiaxin shuini gongsi wenhua jijin hui, 1977).

12. Sun Guodong, “Tang Song zhiji,” 211–304; Chen Yiyuan, *Beisong tongzhi jieceng*, 190–91.

13. “Thorny gate” is John W. Chaffee’s translation of *jiwei*. See, *The Thorny Gates of Learning*, 157.

14. Poems, letters, and essays have long been the main sources of information for intellectual historians. For an example of how these sources are used, see Peter K. Bol, “This Culture of Ours.” Recently, in *Powerful Relations: Kinship, Status, and the State in Sung China (960–1276)* (Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1998), Beverly Bossler uses funerary writings extensively to demonstrate social and intellectual changes. Based on poetry, Tao Jingsheng demonstrates the widespread anxiety among the Song civil bureaucrats regarding the future of their families. See *Beisong shizu: Jiating, hunyin, shenghuo* (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiu yuan lishi yuyan yanjiu shuo zhuan, no. 102, 2001), 27–63.

15. *SS, juan* 202, 5035–5040. Among the sixty titles, more than thirty of them were widely circulated among the educated elite during the transition from the Northern Song to the Southern Song, see Chao Gongwu, *Junzhai dushu zhi jiaozheng* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubenshi, 1990), 27–47. For further discussion of the great number of *Yijing* commentaries in the Northern Song, see Zhu Bokun, *Yixue zhexue shi* volume 2 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1988), 1–6.

16. For a more detailed list of Song *Yijing* writings, see Xu Qinting, “Songdai zhi yixue.” Li Gou’s essays can be found in *Li Gou ji* (Collected works of Li Gou) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 27–51; Fan Zhongyan’s rhapsodic poems are in QSW, 9: 427–28.

17. “Qingbo zongxu: Yi lei,” *Siku Quanshu zongmu tiyao*, 2.

18. John B. Henderson, *Scripture, Canon, and Commentary: A Comparison of Confucian and Western Exegesis* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991). See particularly 89–199.

19. Steven Van Zoeren, *Poetry and Personality: Reading, Exegesis, and Hermeneutics in Traditional China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991).

20. Rudolf G. Wagner, *The Craft of a Chinese Commentator: Wang Bi on the Laozi* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000).

21. Daniel K. Gardner, “Confucian Commentary and Chinese Intellectual History,”

Journal of Asian Studies, 57.2 (May 1998): 397–422; On-cho Ng, *Cheng-Zhu Confucianism in the Early Qing: Li Guangdi (1642–1718) and Qing Learning* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001).

22. Alan T. Wood, *Limits to Autocracy: From Sung Neo-Confucianism to a Doctrine of Political Rights* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1995), x.

23. In general, Wood frames his book as a comparative study of Chinese and European political philosophy focusing on the issue of autocracy. In the introduction, he discusses how the two traditions can be compared, and in chapter 6, “Statecraft and Natural Laws in the West and China,” he uses what he finds in the three Northern Song *Chunqiu* commentaries to contrast with European political philosophy. In chapter 7, “Implications for Modern China and Japan,” Wood extends his comparison to Meiji Japan and late Qing China.

24. Kidder Smith et al., *Sung Dynasty Uses of the I Ching* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990), vii.

25. For a discussion of the characteristics of “the study of the *Yijing* in history,” see Richard John Lynn, “A Review of *Sung Dynasty Uses of the I Ching*,” 152–167; Tze-ki Hon, “Songdai yixue” (The *Yi* learning of the Song), *Jiuzhou xuekan*, 4.1 (1991): 109–20.

26. To underscore the importance of exegetical tradition, chapter 1 of *Sung Dynasty Uses of the I Ching* is devoted to discussing the *xiangshu* and *yili* schools of interpretation. Although it is never explicitly spelled out, the four authors’ stress on the influence of exegetical tradition is in part an echo of the ongoing discussion among scholars on the three-way interaction in commentary—the text, the commentarial tradition, and the historical time of the commentator. For an inspiring discussion of this three-way interaction in commentary, see Steven D. Fraade *From Tradition to Commentary: Torah and Its Interpretation in the Midrash Sifre to Deuteronomy* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991).

27. On the relationship between literary creation and moral cultivation, see chapters 2 and 3 of *Sung Dynasty Uses of the I Ching*; on the relationship between self-cultivation and learning, see chapters 4, 5, and 6 of the same book.

28. See chapters 4 and 5 of *Limits to Autocracy*.

29. “The unfolding of Neo-Confucianism” is originally the title of a conference volume on Ming thought edited by Wm. Theodore de Bary (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970). But the phrase has become the symbol of an approach to studying the intellectual history of China from the eleventh to seventeenth centuries. The approach focuses on Zhu Xi as the grand synthesizer of Chinese culture and the cofounder (along with Cheng Yi) of the Cheng-Zhu school of *Daoxue* (Learning of the Way). It also emphasizes the developments of the Cheng-Zhu school of *Daoxue* into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, particularly those scholars related to Wang Yangming (1472–1529). In addition to the conference volume mentioned earlier, other important works of this “unfolding of Neo-Confucianism” include Carsun Chang, *The Development of Neo Confucian Thought*, 2 volumes (New York: Bookman, 1962); Wing-tsit Chan, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1963), particularly 460–691; Tu Wei-ming, *Human-*

ity and Self-Cultivation: Essays in Confucian Thought (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1979), particularly 71–218; Wm. Theodore de Bary and Irene Bloom, *Sources of Chinese Tradition: From Earliest Times to 1600*, volume 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), particularly 667–924.

30. Kidder Smith et al., *Sung Dynasty Uses of the I Ching*, 53–55, 222–27.

31. *Sung Dynasty Uses of the I Ching*, 222. To be fair to the four authors, their picture of the Song *Yijing* learning is based on a long history of scholarship on Song-Ming Neo-Confucianism that centers upon Zhu Xi. And they wrote their pieces before academia was more aware of the difference between “Song learning” (*Songxue*) and the “Learning of the Way” (*Daoxue*) (more about this distinction later in the chapter). The picture they present, limited and limiting as it is, reflects their best efforts at the time. For a study of how Western sinology has been shaped by the Jesuits’ images of Confucius, Confucianism, and Neo-Confucianism, see Lionel M. Jensen, *Manufacturing Confucianism: Chinese Traditions and Universal Civilization* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1997), 1–150.

32. Some contemporary *Yijing* scholars argue that the “Zhou” of *Zhouyi* has multiple meanings, not necessarily referring to the Zhou Dynasty. For instance, Qian Jibo suggests that “zhou” means cyclical change as in the idiom “zhou er fu shi” (beginning anew after a cycle of change has completed). See *Zhouyi jieti jiqi dufa*, 5–11. But for the Northern Song exegetes, they adopted Kong Yingda’s definition of the *Zhouyi*, namely, the transformation of an ancient divination text into a Confucian classic by King Wen of Zhou, the Duke of Zhou and Confucius. Thus, for Hu Yuan and other Northern Song exegetes, when they said *Zhouyi*, they meant the *Yi* of the Zhou Dynasty.

33. In undertaking a synchronic comparison, I have greatly benefited from the great number of works on Northern Song *Yijing* studies published in China since the 1980s. There are two kinds of works that are particularly important. First are general historical accounts of *Yijing* studies which often include substantial discussion on the Northern Song. They include Zhu Bokun, *Yixue zhexue shi* volume 2; Liao Mingchun, Kang Xuwei, and Liang Weixian, *Zhouyi yanjiu shi* (History of the studies of *Zhouyi* (Changsha: Hunan chubanshe, 1991); Xu Zhirui, *Song Ming yixue gailun* (Shenyang: Liaoning guji chubanshe, 1996). Second are specialized works on Northern Song *Yijing* studies. They include Yu Dunkang, *Neisheng waiwang de guantong: Beisong yixue de xiandai chanshi* (Shanghai: Xuelin chubanshe, 1997); Jin Shengyang, *Su shi yizhuan yanjiu* (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 2002); articles in *Zhouyi yanjiu lunwen ji* (Collected essays in the *Zhouyi* studies), three volumes, edited by Huang Shouqi and Zhang Shanwen (Beijing: Beijing shifan daxue chubanshe, 1987–1990); articles in *Guoji yixue yanjiu* (International studies of the *Yijing*), edited by Zhu Bokun (Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 1995–).

34. To some *Yijing* scholars, the *xiangshu* school of commentary was what characterized the Song *Yijing* learning, and the *yili* school of commentary played no role at all. For this view, see Imai Usaburo, *Sodai ekigaku no kenkyu* (Studies of the *Yi* learning of the Song period) (Tokyo: Meiji tosho shuppan kabushiki kaisha, 1958). Others see the two schools of commentary as integral parts of Northern Song *Yi* learning. But they view the *xiangshu* school as playing a more important role than the *yili* school

in shaping the *Yi* learning of the Northern Song. They make their preference clear in the ways they present the *Yi* learning of the Northern Song. In their narrative, they discuss the *xiangshu* school first, followed by the *yili* school. See, for instance, Zhu Bokun, *Yixue zhexue shi* volume 2; Liao Mingchun, Kang Xuewei, and Liang Weixian, *Zhouyi yanjiu shi*, 198–321. Xu Zhirui, *Song Ming yixue gailun*.

35. Zhu Xi, *Yiluo yuanyuan lu*, *juan* 4–6; *SS*, *juan* 427, 12718–24.

36. *SYXA*, 1: 1a. *Song Yuan xue'an* is commonly translated as “Song and Yuan intellectual history.” Here, I adopt James T. C. Liu’s translation, “Song and Yuan schools of learning,” which is more literal than the usual translation. As James Liu points out, a more informative translation of *SYXA* should be “Song and Yuan Confucian schools of learning.” See James T. C. Liu, *China Turning Inward: Intellectual-Political Changes in the Early Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University Press, 1988), 43–44. For a discussion of Quan Zuwang’s biases toward some Song and Jin scholars, see Hoyt Cleveland Tillman, “Confucianism under the Chin and the Impact of Sung Confucian Tao-hsüeh,” in *China under Jurchen Rule: Essays on Chin Intellectual and Cultural History*, edited by Hoyt Cleveland Tillman and Stephen H. West (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 72.

37. *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*, *juan* 2, 12.

38. See Hoyt Cleveland Tillman, *Confucian Discourse and Chu Hsi’s Ascendancy* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992), 2–3; Peter K. Bol, “This Culture of Ours,” 32–75, 300–42; Thomas A. Wilson, *Genealogy of the Way: The Construction and Uses of the Confucian Tradition in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 1–20; Benjamin A. Elman, *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 1–65. Also, since the mid-eighties, some Chinese scholars have been calling for a sharp distinction between “Song Learning” and the “Learning of the Way.” See Deng Guangming, “Luelun Songxue” (Brief discussion of Song learning) in *Deng Guangming zhishi congkao* (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1997), 163–76; Qi Xia, “Songxue de fazhan he yanbian” (The development and changes in Song learning) in *Tan zhi ji* (Baoding: Hebei daxue chubanshe, 1999), 1–46; Yang Weisheng, *Liang Song wenhua shi yanjiu* (Hangzhou: Hangzhou daxue chubanshe, 1998), 1–25.

39. Tillman, “Reflections on Classifying ‘Confucian’ Lineages: Reinventions of Tradition in Song China,” in *Rethinking Confucianism*, 34–35. Representative works of the retrospective reading of Song Learning include: Fung Yu-lan, *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, volume 2, translated by Derk Bodde (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1953), 407–533; Wm. Theodore de Bary, “A Reappraisal of Neo-Confucianism,” in *Studies in Chinese Thought*, edited by Arthur F. Wright (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), 81–111; de Bary, *East Asian Civilizations: A Dialogue in Five Stages* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 43–67; Wing-tsit Chan, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1963), 460–571.

40. See *Rethinking Confucianism: Past and Present in China, Japan, and Vietnam*, edited by Benjamin A. Elman, John B. Duncan, and Herman Ooms (Los Angeles: Regents of the University of California for the UCLA Asian Pacific Monograph Series, 2002), 523–24.

41. For decades, some *Yijing* scholars have devoted themselves to reconstructing the original *Yijing* text (or the *Zhouyi*) so that it would more faithfully reflect the time of its original composition. See, for instance, Edward L. Shaughnessy, “The Composition of the *Zhouyi*” (Ph. D. diss., Stanford University, 1983), and his *Before Confucius: Studies in the Creation of the Chinese Classic* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 13–30, 197–220; Richard Alan Kunst, “The Original ‘Yijing’: A Text, Phonetic Transcription, Translation, and Indexes, with Sample Glosses” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1985); Richard Rutt, *The Book of Changes (Zhouyi)*; Richard Gotshalk, *Divination, Order, and Zhouyi* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1999). See also Li Jingchi, *Zhouyi tanyuan* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1978), Gao Heng, *Zhouyi gujing jinzhushu* revised edition (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984). The debate about the origins and the textual structure of *Yijing* has been intensified since the mid-1980s after the publication of archaeological findings in Mawangdui in Changsha, Hunan, that reveal other ways of arranging hexagrams and the text, and other traditions in transmitting the *Yijing* text. For a discussion of the significance of this discovery and its relation to the debate of the *Yijing* text, see Deng Qiubo, *Boshu Zhouyi jiaoshi*, revised edition (Changsha: Hunan chubanshe, 1987), 1–67; Zhang Liwen, *Zhouyi boshu jinzhushu jinshi* (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1991), 1–42; Li Xueqin, *Zhouyi jingzhuan suyuan* (Changchun: Changchun chubanshe, 1992), 179–237; Edward L. Shaughnessy, *I Ching*, 14–29.

1. The Northern Song Historical Context

Epigraph: *Xin Wudai shi* (Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1974), *juan* 34, 370.

1. The Japanese historian Naitō Konan (Torajiro, 1866–1934) was the major force in promoting this concept of “Tang-Song transition.” For a summary of Naitō’s view, see Hisayuki Miyukawa, “An Outline of the Naitō Hypothesis and Its Effects on Japanese Studies of China,” *Far Eastern Quarterly* 14: 4 (1955): 533–52.

2. See Robert M. Hartwell, “Demographic, Political, and Social Transformation of China”; Robert P. Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen*; Beverly J. Bossler, *Powerful Relations*.

3. For an overview of the technological and economic changes during this period, see the introduction of Robert P. Hymes and Conrad Schirokauer to *Ordering the World: Approaches to State and Society in Sung Dynasty China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 1–5. See also Paul J. Smith, “State Power and Economic Activism during the New Policies, 1068–85: The Tea and Horse Trade and the ‘Green Sprouts’ Loan Policy,” in Hymes and Schirokauer, *Ordering the World*, 76–127; Billy K. L. So, *Prosperity, Region, and Institutions in Maritime China: The South Fukien Pattern, 946–1368* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).

4. Zheng Xuemeng, *Zhongguo gudai jingji zhongxin nianyi he Tang Song jiangnan jingji yanjiu* (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 1995) 1–31; 139–292; Paul J. Smith, *Taxing Heaven’s Storehouse: Horses, Bureaucrats, and the Destruction of the Sichuan Tea Industry, 1074–1224* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 3–10.

5. This argument is given a cohesive articulation in Peter K. Bol, *"This Culture of Ours."* Bol argues that from the Tang to the Song, the constitution of the literati had been thrice redefined. Although the term for the literati remained *shi* throughout the Tang and Song, Bol points out that the criteria for *shi* had changed. In early Tang they were the aristocrats from wealthy families; in Northern Song they were the bureaucrats armed with reform ideas; and in Southern Song they were the gentry who had a firm grip on local property. See *"This Culture of Ours,"* 32–75.

6. See Chen Yinke, *Tangdai zhengzhi shi shulun gao* (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 1–49. See also Edwin G. Pulleyblank, "The An Lu-shan Rebellion and the origins of chronic militarism in late T'ang China," in John Curtis Perry and Bardwell L. Smith, eds., *Essays on T'ang Society: The Interplay of Social, Political and Economic Forces* (Leiden: Brill, 1979), 32–60; C. A. Peterson, "Court and province in mid- and late T'ang," in Dennis Twitchett, ed., *The Cambridge History of China* volume 3 (London: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 464–560.

7. Zheng Xuemeng, *Wudai shiguo shi yanjiu* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1991), 1–17.

8. Zheng Xuemeng, *Wudai shiguo*, 213–34.

9. For a study of this lord-vassal relationship between the late Tang military generals and the "Army of the Adopted Son," see Wang Gungwu, *The Structure of Power in North China during the Five Dynasties* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1963), 47–78.

10. Xue Jucheng, *Jiu Wudai shi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), *juan* 35, 491.

11. For a study of the historical significance of this imperial dinner, see Peter Lorge, "The Entrance and Exit of the Song Founders," *Journal of Sung-Yuan Studies*, 29 (1999): 43–62. Some historians have doubts about the truthfulness of "dissolving military power over a cup of wine," regarding it as a story constructed for political purposes in mid or late Northern Song. For this view, see Xu Gui, *Yang su ji* (Hengzhou: Hengzhou daxue chubanshe, 1999), 526–32, 616–33.

12. Zhang Qifan, *Wudai jinjun chutan* (Guangzhou: Jinian daixue chubanshe, 1993), 98–120; Deng Guangming, *Deng Guangming zhishi congkao*, 449–513; Fang Hao, *Song shi* (Taipei: Zhonghua wenhua chubanshiye weiyuan hui, 1954), 1–66.

13. Wang Zengyu, *Songchao bingzhi chutan* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 2–4, 327–38.

14. For a review of the current debate on social mobility of the Song, see John W. Chaffee, *The Thorny Gates of Learning*, xxi–xxx. In *Powerful Relations*, Beverly Bossler offers a thoughtful assessment of the examination system. She argues that although the examination system was not "the great engine of social mobility," it facilitated "the integration of the state and society in China far beyond the level that had existed in earlier eras" (53).

15. John W. Chaffee, *The Thorny Gates of Learning*, 48–51.

16. *SS*, *juan* 446, 13149.

17. Zhu Xi, *Yiluo yuanyuan lu*, *juan* 1–6; and his “Daxue zhangju xu,” (Preface to an annotated commentary on the *Great Learning*) *Sishu zhangju jizhu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 1–2.

18. See chapter 4 for further discussion of Fan Zhongyan’s and Wang Anshi’s reforms. See chapter 5 for a comparison of Wang Anshi and Sima Guang.

19. For studies of these writers and artists, see Michael A. Fuller, *The Road to East Slope: The Development of Su Shi’s Poetic Voice* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990); Susan Bush, *The Chinese Literati on Painting: Su Shih (1037–1101) to Tung Ch’i-ch’ang (1555–1636)* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971); Ronald C. Egan, *The Literary Works of Ou-yang Hsiu (1007–1072)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Peter Charles Sturman, *Mi Fu: Style and the Arts of Calligraphy in Northern Song China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997); Stanley Murashige, “Rhythm, Order, Change, and Nature in Guo Xi’s *Early Spring*,” *Monumenta Serica*, 43 (1995): 337–64.

20. Zhang Qifan argues that beginning with the Renzong’s reign, the political structure of the Northern Song had changed such that the educated elite felt as though “they ruled the world with the emperor” (*huangdi yu shidaifu gongzhi tianxia*). According to Zhang, there was a delicate balance of power in the political structure between the emperor, the ministers, and the censors. See Zhang, *Songchu zhengzhi tanyan* (Guangzhou: Jinian daxue chubanshe, 1995), 62–68. For a study of the change in the self-identity of the early Northern Song educated elite, see Peter K. Bol, “*This Culture of Ours*,” 148–75.

21. For a biography of Feng Dao and an assessment of him as a preserver of culture in the Five Dynasties, see Wang Gungwu “Feng Tao: An Essay on Confucian Loyalty” in Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett, *Confucian Personalities* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962), 123–45; reprinted in Wang Gungwu, *The Chineseness of China* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1991), 41–63. See also Zheng Xueming, *Wudai shiguo shi yanjiu*, 100–13.

22. A portion of Feng Dao’s preface to “A Self-Portrait of an Ever-Happy Old Man” is preserved in the biography of Feng Dao in Xue Jucheng, *Jiu Wudai shi*, *juan* 126, 1661–64.

23. *Jiu Wudai shi*, *juan* 126, 1666.

24. *Jiu Wudai shi*, *juan* 64, 860.

25. For a comparison of the differing historical perspectives in the *Old History* and the *New History*, see Tze-ki Hon, “Military Governance versus Civil Governance: A Comparison of the *Old History* and the *New History* of the Five Dynasties,” in *Imagining Boundaries: Changing Confucian Doctrines, Texts, and Hermeneutics*, edited by Kai-Wing Chow, On-cho Ng, and John B. Henderson (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), 85–106. For a general comparison of the two historical works, see Zhao Yi (1727–1814), *Nianer shi daji jiaozheng*, annotated by Wang Shumin (Beijing: Zhonghua chuju, 1984) 451–64; Wang Mingsheng (1722–1797), *Shiqi shi shangque* (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1937), 1057–1132; Wang Gungwu, “Some Comments on the Later Standard Histories,” in Donald D. Leslie, Collin Mackenas, and Wang

Gungwu, eds., *Essays on the Sources for Chinese History* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1973), 53–63, especially 57–58;

26. *Xin Wudai shi*, juan 42, 611.

27. *XZZTJCB*, juan 111, 2583.

28. See *XZZTJCB*, juan 171, 4108. For a study of why Feng Dao was popular among scholar-officials during his lifetime and a hundred years after his death, see Wang Gungwu, “Feng Tao: An Essay on Confucian Loyalty,” 123–45; Lin Yongqin, *Qiqiang Kongzi—Feng Dao* (Taipei: Qiuda wenhua gufen youxian gongsi, 1989), 3–4, 155–63.

29. Fan Zhongyan, “Yueyang lou ji” (A remembrance of [a visit to] Yueyang tower) in *Fan wenzheng gong ji* (Taipei: Commercial Press, 1986), 95.

30. On Northern Song bureaucratic factionalism, see He Guanhuan, *Songchu pengdang yu taiping xingguo sannian jinshi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1994); Luo Jiaxiang, *Beisong dangzheng yanjiu* (Taipei: Wenjing chubanshe, 1993); Xiao Qingwei, *Beisong xinjiu dangzheng yu wenxue* (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2001); Shen Songqin, *Beisong wenren yu dangzheng—Zhongguo shi dafu qun yanjiu zhiyi* (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1998).

31. Chen Jun, *Huangchao biannian gangmu beiyao* (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1966 reprint), juan 22–26; Li Zhi, *Huang Song shichao gangmu* (Taipei: Haiwen chubanshe, 1967 reprint), juan 11–18; SS, juan 17, 317–438; *Song shi jishi benmu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), juan 43–49, 411–504.

32. In *The Logic of Practice* (1980), *Distinction* (1984), and *The Field of Cultural Production* (1993), Pierre Bourdieu argues that besides the conventional economic capital that is measured in number and material form, there is nonmaterial form of capital understood in terms of the position and interrelationship of the players in the social field. Known as the “cultural capital,” the nonmaterial form of capital gives the players in the social field the same degree of autonomy and flexibility as economic capital does to bankers, industrialists, and corporate CEOs in market economy. For a succinct summary of Bourdieu’s notion of cultural capital, see Moishe Postone, Edward LiPuma, and Craig Calhoun, “Introduction: Bourdieu and Social Theory,” in Craig Calhoun, Edward LiPuma, and Moishe Postone, *Bourdieu: Critical Perspectives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 1–13.

33. For a study of the marriage and social life of the Northern Song educated elite, see Tao Jinsheng, *Beisong shizu: Jiating, hunyin, shenghuo*. For a study of the *tongnien* (examination cohort) network among the literati, see Koon-wan Ho, *Politics and Factionalism: K’ou Chun (962–1023) and His T’ung-Nien* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Arizona, 1990). For a study of how the rise of the educated elite in the Song helped to reshape women’s role in society, especially their property rights, see Bettine Birge, *Women, Property, and Confucian Reaction in Sung and Yüan China (960–1368)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

2. The Northern Song Yijing Text

Epigraph: “Zhouyi zhengyi,” *SKQS* 7: 304.

1. For more information on Kong Yingda and his *Wujing zhengyi* project, see Liu Xu, *Jiu Tang shu* (Old history of Tang) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 2601–2603; Ouyang Xiu and Song Qi, *Xin Tang shu* (New History of Tang) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 5643–44; Pi Xirui, *Jingxue lishi* with Zhou Yutong’s annotations (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1987), 211–12; Howard J. Wechsler, *Offerings of Jade and Silk* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 37–54; David McMullen, *State and Scholars in Tang China* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 71–76.

2. “Zhouyi zhengyi xu” (Preface to True Meanings of the *Yi* of the Zhou [Dynasty]), *SKQS* 7: 301.

3. For a discussion of the politics in Kong’s decision on the official commentary of the *Yijing* and the regional differences in the early Tang *Yijing* scholarship, see Pi Xirui, *Jingxue lishi*, 205–25; Qian Jibo, *Zhouyi jieti jiqu dufa*, 34–35.

4. See the standard edition of the *Zhouyi zhu* in Wang Bi, *Wang Bi ji jiaoshi*, annotated by Lou Yulie (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), 211–620. In translating *Zhouyi zhu* into English, Richard John Lynn does not follow the standard sequence of the text. He puts Wang Bi’s essays at the beginning of the commentary. See *The Classic of Changes: A New Translation of the I Ching as Interpreted by Wang Bi* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 25–126. For possible misleading connotations of Lynn’s textual arrangement, see my “Review of Richard John Lynn, *The Classic of Changes: A New Translation of the I Ching as Interpreted by Wang Bi*,” *Journal of Oriental Studies*, 33 (1995): 2: 280–82.

5. “Zhouyi zhengyi xu,” *SKQS* 7: 302.

6. “Yi zhi san ming,” *SKQS* 7: 304.

7. “Yi zhi san ming,” *SKQS* 7: 303–304.

8. “Yi zhi san ming,” *SKQS* 7: 304.

9. For a translation of this hexagram line statement, see Wilhelm/Baynes, *The I Ching*, 11.

10. For a translation of Wang Bi’s comment, see Lynn, *The Classic of Changes*, 143.

11. Andrew H. Plaks, *Archetype and Allegory in the Dream of the Red Chamber* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1976), 43–53.

12. “Zhouyi zhengyi,” *SKQS* 7: 329.

13. For a translation of the hexagram line, see Wilhelm/Baynes, *The I Ching*, 140.

14. “Zhouyi zhengyi,” *SKQS* 7: 432. Except where mentioned otherwise, all the translations of the *Yijing* and the *Yijing* commentaries in this book are mine. Despite recent interests in the study of the *Yijing* in history, there is no translation of the *Yijing*

commentaries of the Tang and the Song. The closest we get to the Tang-Song commentaries are the translations of James Legge and Wilhelm/Baynes, both of which were based on the *Zhouyi zhezong* (An impartial rendition of the *Zhouyi*) of Li Guangdi (1642–1718). Published in 1715 when the Song-ming *daoxue* was heavily influencing Qing scholarship, the *Zhouyi zhezong* did not, as its title claims, offer an impartial reading of the classic. Instead, it promoted the reading of Zhu Xi and Cheng Yi (as opposed to Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi in *Zhouyi daquan* [Complete interpretation of the *Zhouyi*] of the Ming). The recent translations of Richard Rutt and Richard Gotshalk are intended to be reconstructions of the *Zhouyi* in the Western Zhou. They are not translations of the *Yijing* of 135 B.C.E., or of the commentaries since then.

15. See Feng Youlan, “Weijin xuanxue guiwu lun guanyu youwu de lilun,” *Beijing Daxue xuebao*, 1986.1: 11–18; Tang Yongtong, *Tang Yongtong xueshu lunwen ji* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 233–79; Wing-tsit Chan, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, 314–24; Alan K. L. Chan, *Two Visions of the Way: A Study of the Wang Pi and the Ho-shang Kung Commentaries on the Lao-Tzu* (Albany: State University of New York, 1991), 1–88.

16. Edward L. Shaughnessy, “Commentary, Philosophy, and Translation: Reading Wang Bi’s Commentary to the *Yi Jing* in a New Way,” *Early China*, 22 (1997), 221–45. For a study of how the political environment of the third century may have shaped Wang Bi’s political views, see Rudolf G. Wagner, *The Craft of a Chinese Commentator*, 9–26.

17. For a translation of the hexagram line, see Wilhelm/Baynes, *The I Ching*, 82.

18. For a translation of Wang Bi’s comment, see Lynn, *The Classic of Changes*, 20.

19. “Zhouyi zhengyi,” *SKQS* 7: 385.

20. For a translation of the line statement, see Wilhelm/Baynes, *The I Ching*, 102.

21. For a translation of Wang Bi’s comment, see Lynn, *The Classic of Changes*, 295.

22. “Zhouyi zhengyi,” *SKQS* 7: 402.

23. Following a longstanding tradition in *Yijing* exegesis, Wang Bi interpreted the two hexagrams as the symbols of *yin* and *yang*, the two foundational concepts of the *Yijing*. See his commentary on the first and sixth lines of “Kun,” *Wang Bi ji jiaoshi*, 226–28; cf., Lynn, *The Classic of Changes*, 146–50.

24. Wang Bi read “Tai” and “Pi” as the ebb and flow of the *yin* force and the *yang* force. See his commentary on the top line of “Tai,” *Wang Bi ji jiaoshi*, 278; cf., Lynn, *Classic of Changes*, 209–10.

25. In interpreting “Ge” and “Ding,” Wang Bi read them as a process of political transformation. See *Wang Bi ji jiaoshi*, 464–74; cf., Lynn, *Classic of Changes*, 444–59.

26. For a translation of the line statement, see Wilhelm/Baynes, *The I Ching*, 248.

27. *Wang Bi ji jiaoshi*, 528. For a translation of Wang Bi's comment, see Lynn, *The Classic of Changes*, 542.

28. For a translation of the *Tuan* statement, see Wilhelm/Baynes, *The I Ching*, 715.

29. *Wang Bi ji jiaoshi*, 531. For another translation of these lines, see Lynn, *The Classic of Changes*, 64–65.

30. For a study of Wang Bi's commentary on "Jiji" and "Weiji," and its relation to his philosophy, see my article, "Human Agency and Change: A Reading of Wang Bi's *Yijing* Commentary," *Journal of Chinese Philosophy*, 30. 2 (June 2003): 223–42.

31. "Zhouyi zhengyi," *SKQS* 7: 516.

32. For rendering *you* and *wu* into Being and Non-Being, see Wing-tsit Chan, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, 314–24.

33. Feng Youlan, "Weijin xuanxue"; Tang Yongtong, *Tang Yongtong xueshu lunwen ji*, 233–44.

34. For a translation of the *Tuan* statement, see Wilhelm/Baynes, *The I Ching*, 505.

35. See *Wang Bi ji jiaoshi*, 336–37. For a translation of Wang Bi's comment, see Lynn, *The Classic of Changes*, 286.

36. My translation of this *Xici* statement is different from both Richard Wilhelm's and Richard John Lynn's. Richard Wilhelm translates the statement as "That which lets now the dark, now the light appear is tao" (*The I Ching*, 297). As we will see later, Han Kangbo's commentary on this *Xici* statement focuses on what *yi yin* (a solitary *yin*) and *yi yang* (a solitary *yang*) mean. For this reason, Wilhelm's translation misses a key point that Han would consider as essential to this statement. Nor is Richard Lynn's translation entirely accurate. Lynn renders the line as "The reciprocal process of yin and yang is called the Dao" (*The Classic of Changes*, 53), without translating the adjective *yi* (the solitary).

37. *Wang Bi ji jiaoshi*, 541. For a translation of Han's comment, see Lynn, *The Classic of Changes*, 53.

38. For a full translation of this *Xici* statement, see Wilhelm/Baynes, *The I Ching*, 310.

39. *Wang Bi ji jiaoshi*, 547–48; cf., Lynn, *The Classic of Changes*, 60–61.

40. See Feng Youlan, "Weijin xuanxue"; Tang Yongtong, *Tang Yongtong xueshu lunwenji*, 245–53.

41. "Zhouyi zhengyi," *SKQS* 7: 537.

42. "Zhouyi zhengyi," *SKQS* 7: 530.

43. *Wang Bi ji jiaoshi*, 591. For a translation of "Ming tuan," see Wing-tsit Chan, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, 318–19; Lynn, *The Classic of Changes*, 26.

44. “Zhouyi zhengyi,” *SKQS* 7: 586–87.

45. Although only fragments of Wang Yucheng’s writings on the *Yijing* exist today, they are the earliest Northern Song writings on the classic that we have. For a study of Wang’s *Yijing* commentary, see Feng Xiaoting, *Songchu jingxue fazhan shulun* (Taipei: Wanjuanluo tushu youxian gongsi, 2001), 95–98. For a biography of Wang Yucheng, see Xu Gui, *Wang Yucheng shiji zhuzuo biannian* (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1982). On Cheng Yi’s *Yijing* interpretation, see chapter 5.

46. In commenting on the *Yijing*, Su Shi frequently cited Wang Bi in explaining the reversion to *wu*. See, for instance, his commentary on hexagrams “Qian” (#1), “Meng” (#4), “Song” (#6), “Shi” (#7), “Bi” (#8), “Tai” (#11), and “Bo” (#23), “Dongpo yizhuan” *SKQS* 9: 3–45. For more discussion of Su Shi’s *Yijing* commentary, see chapter 5.

47. For Wang Yucheng’s comments on Wang Bi’s commentary, see his “Ming yi jiuan yao xiang lun” (A discussion of the image of the third yang line of the hexagram “Mingyi”) in *Xiao xu ji* (Collected work from the taming power of the small), *juan* 9; *QSW* 4:445–46. Apparently an incomplete work, *Wengong yishuo* (Comments on the *Yi* by Sima Guang) contains Sima Guang’s critical remarks on Wang Bi. He cited Wang Bi’s comments and then offered his improvement on them. See, for instance, Sima Guang’s commentary on the *Xici* I statement “He is content with his circumstances and genuine in his kindness, therefore he is able to love others” (*an tu dun hu ren gu neng ai*), “Wengong yishuo” *SKQS* 8: 633. For more discussion of Sima Guang’s *Yijing* commentary, see chapter 4.

48. For more discussion of Zhang Zai’s *Yijing* commentary, see chapter 4.

49. See Sima Guang’s letter to Han Bingguo, *QSW*, 28: 415–16. In the letter, Sima Guang accused Wang Bi of adopting the perspectives of Laozi and Zhuangzi in rendering the *Yijing* irrelevant to social and political affairs.

50. See Li Gou, “Shanding yitu xulun” (Preface to a study of the edited version of *Yijing* diagrams), *QSW* 21: 409–24.

51. See Cheng Yi’s letter to Xie Ti, *Er Cheng ji* (Collected works of the two Chengs) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju: 1981), 611.

52. See Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, second, revised edition, translated by Joel Wiansheimer and Donald G. Marshall (New York: Crossroad, 1990), 265–380. For an explication of Gadamer’s concept of “hermeneutical circle,” see David Tracy, *Plurality and Ambiguity: Hermeneutics, Religion, Hope* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1987), 1–46.

3. Mission of Civil Bureaucrats

Epigraph: Hu Yuan’s commentary on the *Tuan* statement of hexagram “Tongren” (Fellowship #13), “Zhouyi kouyi,” *SKQS* 8: 247.

1. SS, *juan* 432, 12837–38; R. C. Pian, “Hu Yuan,” in *Sung Biographies*, edited by

Herbert Franke (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1976), 444–45; Wm. Theodore de Bary, *East Asian Civilizations: A Dialogue in Five Stages* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 47–48.

2. SYXA, 1: 1a.

3. See Ouyang Xiu's epitaph to Hu Yuan in QSW 18: 265–66; Zhong Huimin, *Songru Hu Yuan de xueshu ji qi yingxiang* (Taipei: Zhongguo wenhua xueyuan master thesis, 1974), 20–30; Ge Rongjin, “Hu Yuan jiqi anding xuepai de mingti dayong zhixue,” *Zhongguo zhexue*, 16 (1993): 54–79.

4. To the best of my knowledge, the only historian who treats Hu Yuan as a serious thinker is Lin Yisheng. In his *Hu Yuan de yili yixue* (Taipei: Commercial Press, 1974), Lin argues that Hu was a leading scholar in the Northern Song who interpreted the *Yijing* based on the Ten Wings.

5. Besides the *Zhouyi kouyi*, there are three pieces of Hu Yuan's writings that have survived. First is Hu's commentary (in bits and pieces) on the *Analects* and the *Spring and Autumn Annals* collected in SYXA, 1:2b–3b. Second is a treatise on court musical instruments that Hu coedited with Ruan Yi entitled *Huangyou xinyue tuji* (Notes with diagrams on the new music of the Huangyou Period [of Emperor Renzong]). The treatise is available in SKQS 211: 1–22. Third is his commentary on the *Great Plan* chapter of the Book of Documents, *Hongfan kouyi*, which can be found in SKQS, 54: 451–83. For a study of Hu's commentary on the *Great Plan*, see Micheal Nylan, *The Shifting Center: The Original “Great Plan” and Later Readings* (Netteal: Steyler Verlag, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series, 1992), 63–96.

6. SYXA, 1: 1a; Zhong Huimin, *Songru Hu Yuan*, 20–21.

7. Herbert Franke, *Sung Biographies*, 444.

8. SYXA, 1: 1b; Zhong Huimin, *Songru Hu Yuan*, 21–22.

9. SS, *juan* 432, 12835; SYXA, 1: 1b; Zhong Huimin, *Songru Hu Yuan*, 22.

10. SYXA, 1: 1b; Zhong Huimin, *Songru Hu Yuan*, 22.

11. SS, *juan* 432, 12835; *Song shi jishi benmo*, 370; SYXA, 1:2; Zhong Huimin, *Songru Hu Yuan*, 22–24.

12. Qian Mu, *Guoshi dagang* (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 1989), 415–21. See also Qian Mu, *Song Ming lixue gaishu* (Taipei: Xuesheng chubanshe, 1977), 30–31.

13. XZZTJCB, 173: 4175, 175: 4243; SS, 12837; *Song shi jishi benmo*, 212; SYXA, 1:1b; *Sung Biographies*, 444.

14. XZZTJCB, 192: 4635; SS, 13434; *Song shi jishi benmo*, 213.

15. SYXA, 1: 3b; Zhong Huimin, *Songru Hu Yuan*, 24.

16. *Siku Quanshu zongmu tiyao*, 12; Zhong Huimin, *Songru Hu Yuan*, 24–26. For a biography of Nie Tianyin, see *Song shi yi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991), 245–46.

17. SS, *juan* 432, 12837; Zhong Huimin, *Songru Hu Yuan*, 25.

18. Zhu Bokun, *Yixue zhexue shi*, volume 1; Kidder Smith et al., *Sung Dynasty Uses of the I Ching*, 5–25.

19. “Zhouyi kouyi,” *SKQS* 8: 171.

20. Tsuchida Kenjiro makes a similar argument in comparing Hu Yuan with Kong Yingda. See his “Isen ekiden no shishō,” in *Sōdai no shakai to bunka*, edited by Sōdai shi ken'yūkai (Tokyo: Kuko shoin, 1983), 237–51.

21. For a translation of the statement, see Wilhelm/Baynes, *The I Ching*, 283.

22. “Zhouyi kouyi,” “Xici shang” (Part one of *Xici*), *SKQS* 8: 452.

23. Hu Yuan was part of the Chinese philosophical tradition of concentrating on the universe being an organic totality, rather than on the creation of the universe. For further discussion on this characteristic of Chinese philosophy, see Frederic W. Mote, *Intellectual Foundations of China*, second edition (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1989), 9–25; Tu Wei-ming, “The Continuity of Being: Chinese Visions of Nature,” in *Confucian Thought: Selfhood as Creative Transformation* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985), 35–50.

24. Richard Wilhelm translates the statement as follows: “As begetter of all begetting, it is called change” (*The I Ching*, 299.) As will be shown, Wilhelm’s translation does not fit Hu Yuan’s reading of the *Xici* statement.

25. “Zhouyi kouyi,” *SKQS* 8: 531–33.

26. “Zhouyi kouyi,” “Xici shang,” *SKQS* 8: 469.

27. For a full translation of the *Xici* I statement, see Wilhelm/Baynes, *The I Ching*, 323.

28. “Zhouyi zhengyi,” *SKQS* 7: 545.

29. “Zhouyi kouyi,” *SKQS* 8: 505.

30. “Zhouyi kouyi,” “Fati” (preface), *SKQS* 8: 171–72.

31. Lin Yisheng calls Hu Yuan’s humanistic reading of the *Yijing* “pure Confucian” (*chun ru*) (*Hu Yuan de yili yixue*, 102–53). With all due respect to Lin’s contribution in offering a thoughtful analysis of the *Zhouyi kouyi* based on the Confucian categories of self-cultivation, administering one’s family, serving the people, and ordering the world, he appears to overlook the changing meaning of “Confucianism” and “Confucian scholars” over time. In many instances, what was considered as “pure Confucian” at one time might not be regarded as “pure” at another. For a discussion of the changes in the meaning of “Confucian scholars” from the seventh century to the twelfth century, see Peter K. Bol, “*This Culture of Ours*,” 32–76.

32. “Zhouyi kouyi,” “Xugua” (Sequence of Hexagrams), *SKQS* 8: 560.

33. *XZZTJCB*, 30; *SS*, 49. See also Wang Fuzhi, *Song lun* (Taipei: Commercial Press, guoxue jiben zongshu, 1968), 1–3.

34. *XZZTJCB*, 1506–1507, 1518–30, 1560–83; *SS*, 135–45; *Song shi jishi benmo*, 162–64. For a biography of Wang Qinruo, see M. Yamauchi, “Wang Ch’in-jo,” in *Sung*

Biographies, 1105–1109. For a study of the “Heavenly Writings” affair, see Suzanne E. Cahill, “Taoism at the Sung Court: The Heavenly Text Affair of 1008,” *Bulletin of Sung Yuan Studies*, 16 (1980): 23–44.

35. On Wang Pu’s fatalism and its similarity with Feng Dao’s, see Hong Mai, *Rong-zhai suibi* (Shanghai: Guji chubenshe, 1978), 516–17. On Xue Juzheng’s fatalism, see my chapter, “Military Governance versus Civil Governance,” in Kai-wing Chow et al., eds., *Imagining Boundaries*, 89–92.

36. Feng Dao’s poem appears in Wu Chuhou, *Qingxiang zaji* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), 16. Wu Chuhou reported that until his time (around the 1080s) Feng Dao’s poem remained popular among the scholar-officials. An apologist for Feng Dao, he argued that Feng was a capable minister with superb skills in administration (16–17).

37. The *Wenyan* is one of the *Ten Wings* of the *Yijing*. It offers additional commentary to the first two hexagrams, “Qian” and “Kun.” Here Hu Yuan is referring to the *Wenyan* of “Qian.”

38. “Zhouyi kouyi,” *SKQS* 8: 174–75.

39. “Zhouyi kouyi,” *SKQS* 8: 311.

40. In the *Analects*, Confucius exhorts withdrawal from human affairs on the following occasions:

1. The Master said, “The Way makes no progress. I shall get upon a raft and float out to sea” (*Analects* 5:6; Arthur Waley, *The Analects of Confucius* [New York: Vintage, 1938], 108).

2. The Master said to Yen Hui, “The Maxim ‘when wanted, then go; when set aside, then hide’ is one that you and I could certainly fulfil” (*Analects* 7:10; Waley, 124).

3. The Master said, “Be of unwavering good faith, love learning, if attacked be ready to die for the good Way. Do not enter a state that pursues dangerous courses, nor stay in one where the people have rebelled. When the Way prevails under Heaven, then show yourself; when it does not prevail, then hide. When the Way prevails in your own land, count it a disgrace to be needy and obscure; when the Way does not prevail in your land, then count it a disgrace to be rich and honoured” (*Analects* 8:13; Waley, 135).

41. *Analects* 8:13; see Waley, 135.

42. For further discussion of the Confucian justification for reclusion, see Charles Wing-hoi Chan, “Confucius and Political Loyalism: The Dilemma,” *Monumenta Serica*, 44 (1996): 25–99; Li Chi, “The Changing Concept of the Recluse in Chinese Literature,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 24 (1962/63): 234–47; Frederic W. Mote, “Confucian Eremitism in the Yuan Period,” in *The Confucian Persuasions*, edited by Arthur F. Wright (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960), 202–40. For a comparison of the concept of eremitism among the Confucians, Daoists, and Chinese Buddhists, see Wolfgang Bauer, “The Hidden Hero: Creation and Disintegration of the Ideal of

Eremitism,” in *Individualism and Holism: Studies in Confucian and Taoist Values*, edited by Donald Munro (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1985), 157–98.

43. See *SS*, *juan* 432, 12833, and *SYXA*, 2: 2–3.

44. “Ming yin” is now preserved in full in Shi Jie, *Culai Shixiansheng wenji* (Collected writings of Mr. Shi from Culai) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984) 95–96.

45. “Zhouyi kouyi,” *SKQS* 8: 175–76.

46. *SS*, *juan* 457, 13420–26. For the biographies of Chen Tuan and Zhong Fang, see Shao Bowen, ed., *Shaoshi wenjian lu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 69–70; Zhu Xi, ed., *Wuchao mingchen yanxing lu*, 10: 1a–5a. For a discussion of Chen Tuan and Zhong Fang, see Don J. Wyatt, *The Recluse of Loyang: Shao Yung and the Moral Foundation of Early Sung Thought* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996), 47–59.

47. *SS*, *juan* 457, 13417.

48. Regarding how the *Taiping yulan* and its sister publication the *Taiping guangji* reflected the political vision of Emperor Taizong, see Russell Kirkland, “A World in Balance: Holistic Synthesis in the *Tai-p’ing kuang-chi*,” *Journal of Sung-Yuan Studies* 23 (1993): 43–70.

49. Li Fang, *Taiping yulan* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960), 2290–2324.

50. *XZZTJCB*, 425, 588, 738, 1151–52, 1273, 1394–95, 1496, 1652; Jiang Shaoyu, *Songchao shishi lei yuan* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981), 41:533–37; *SS*, 58, 63, 72–73, 118–21, 128, 130, 140, 148–51, 13420–26.

51. *SS*, *juan* 457, 13420–21.

52. *Taiping yulan*, 2290. Note that the editors of *Taiping yulan* and the “Biographies of Hermits” of the *Song shi* began their preface by quoting the same line statement of “Gu.” (See *SS*, 13417.) The translation of the line statement of “Gu” is from Wilhelm/Baynes, *The I Ching*, 78.

53. “Zhouyi kouyi,” *SKQS* 8: 383.

54. “Zhouyi kouyi,” *SKQS* 8: 269.

55. “Zhouyi kouyi,” *SKQS* 8: 269.

56. Hu Yuan made a similar argument about timeliness in commenting on the hexagrams “Dun” and “Gen.” See “Zhouyi kouyi,” *SKQS* 8: 322–25; 396–97.

57. The classic example is the Master’s dialogue with his student Zigong (or Tzu-Kung) on the concept of *Ren* (translated by Waley as Goodness).

Tzu-Kung said, “If the ruler not only conferred wide benefits upon the common people, but also compassed the salvation of the whole state, what would you say of him? Surely, you would call him Good?” The Master said, “It would no longer be a matter of ‘Good.’ He would without doubt be a Divine Sage. Even Yao and Shun could hardly criticize him. As for Goodness—you yourself desire rank and standing, then help others to get rank and standing. You want to turn your own merits to account; then help others to turn theirs

to account—in fact, the ability to take one's own feelings as a guide—that is the sort of thing that lies in the direction of Goodness.” (*Analects*, 6:28; Waley, 122)

58. For a translation of Mencius's debate with King Wei at Liang, see Wing-tsit Chan, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1963), 60–61.

59. Richard Wilhelm's translation on this line is somewhat misleading. It reads: “One draws from the well without hindrance” (*The I Ching*, 188). Although accurate in conveying the general meaning of the line statement, Wilhelm's translation does not bring out its main idea—not covering the well (*wu mu*) when water is drawn from it (*jing shou*). In comparison, James Legge's translation of the line is more accurate. It says: “The topmost line, undivided, shows (the water from) the well brought to the top, which is not allowed to be covered.” See James Legge, *The I Ching* (New York: Dover, 1963, reprint of 1899 edition), 166.

60. “Zhouyi kouyi,” *SKQS* 8: 383.

61. For another translation of this statement, see Wilhelm/Baynes, *The I Ching*, 295.

62. “Zhouyi kouyi,” “Xici Shang,” *SKQS* 8: 464–65.

63. For a translation of the *Tuan* statement, see Wilhelm/Baynes, *The I Ching*, 56.

64. “Zhouyi kouyi,” *SKQS* 8: 247.

65. Fan Zhongyan, “Yueyang lou ji” in *Fan Wenzheng gong ji*, 95. See also the following two articles by James T. C. Liu, “An Early Sung Reformer: Fan Chung-yen,” in *Chinese Thought and Institutions*, edited by John King Fairbank (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), 105–31; “Some Reflections on Fan Chung-yen (989–1052),” in *A Festschrift in Honor of Professor Jao Tsung-i on the Occasion of His Seventy-fifth Anniversary* (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 1993), 293–300.

66. See Qian Mu, *Guoshi dagang*, 415–21; and his *Song Ming lixue gaishu*, 30–31.

67. Bol, “*This Culture of Ours*,” 1–15.

68. Bol, “*This Culture of Ours*,” 32–75.

69. *XZZTJCB*, 118; *SS*, 8973–76.

70. *XZZTJCB*, 306; *SS*, 8931–41.

71. *Song shi jishi benmo*, 161–76; Wen-hsiung Hsu, “Wang Tan,” in Herbert Franke, *Sung Biographies*, 1147–53. Although there is no direct discussion of the obsequious silence of the high officials toward Emperor Zhenzong's extravagant travels in the *Xu zixhi tongjian chengpian*, one can infer that the editor Li Tao was sensitive to the issue. He reported twice that the court instructor Sun Shi (962–1033) protested against Emperor Zhenzong's travel (*juan* 74, 1699; *juan* 82, 1850). By registering Sun's protest but mentioning no action by other top officials, Li Tao implied that there was a lack of effort among top officials to oppose Emperor Zhenzong.

72. James T. C. Liu, “An Early Sung Reformer: Fan Chung-yen.”

73. For a discussion of the reforms during the reign of Emperor Shenzong, see James T. C. Liu, *Reform in Sung China*; the chapters by George Hatch, Paul J. Smith, and Peter K. Bol in *Ordering the World*, 39–192.

74. XZZTJCB, 113: 2642–45; SS, 197; *Song shi jishi benmo*, 193–98.

75. Wang Pizhi, *Yingshui yangtan lu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 15; Sima Guang, *Sushui jiwen* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989), 66; SS, *juan* 54, 9831–9938; *juan* 314, 10267–81; *juan* 320, 10397–10411; *Song shi jishi benmo*, 232.

76. See Shan-yüan Hsieh, *The Life and Thought of Li Kou, 1009–1059* (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1979), 23–56; Li Gou, *Li Gou ji* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 1–8; Jiang Guozhu, *Li Gou sixiang yanjiu* (Beijing: Zhongguo xuehui kexue chubanshe, 1984), 1–24. Cf., Xie Shanyuan, *Li Gou zhi shengping ji sixiang* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988), 23–38.

77. Li Gou’s two writings are available in *Li Gou ji*, 27–66; QSW 21: 382–424.

78. *Li Gou ji*, 52; QSW 21: 409.

79. *Li Gou ji*, 52; QSW 21: 409.

80. *Li Gou ji*, 52; QSW 21: 409.

81. In the “Thirteen essays on the *Yijing*,” Li Gou divides his essays into three categories: those that deal with “the Way of the Emperor” (*wei jun zhi dao*), “the Way of the officials” (*wei chen zhi dao*), and “the Way of moral cultivation” (*zhi shen zhi dao*). For a discussion of Li Gou’s *Yijing* studies, see Shan-yüan Hsieh, *The Life and Thought of Li Kou*, 24–57; Jiang Guozhu, *Li Gou sixiang yanjiu*, 41–52; Yu Dunkang, *Neisheng waiwang de guantong*, 1–30.

82. *Li Gou ji*, 28; QSW 21: 382.

83. *Li Gou ji*, 33; QSW 21: 386.

84. *Li Gou ji*, 51; QSW 21: 408.

85. *Li Gou ji*, 33; QSW 21: 386.

86. “Zhouyi kouyi,” SKQS 8: 346.

87. “Yi tongzi wen” is available in many collections of Ouyang Xiu’s writings. The version I use here is from QSW 18: 59–76.

88. For a discussion of the significance of Ouyang Xiu in the history of *Yijing* studies, see Zhu Bokun, *Yixue zhexue shi*, 2: 74–87; Liao Mingchun, Kang Xuewei, and Liang Weixuan, *Zhouyi yanjiu shi*, 261–65; Yu Dunkang *Neisheng waiwang de guantong*, 31–49; Peter Bol’s chapter, “The Sung Context: From Ou-yang Hsiu to Chu Hsi,” in Kidder Smith et al., *Sung Dynasty Uses of the I Ching*, 26–55.

89. For another translation of the *Tuan* statement, see Wilhelm/Baynes, 636.

90. Ouyang Xiu, “Yi tongzi wen,” QSW 18: 68.

91. For a translation of the *Xiang* statement, see Wilhelm/Baynes, 468.
92. Ouyang Xiu, “Yi tongzi wen,” *QSW* 18: 62.

4. *Inner Roots of Ordering the World*

Epigraph: Zhang Zai, “Zhang zi yu lu,” *Zhang Zai ji*, 320.

1. For a study of early Song military policies, see Zhang Qifan, *Wudai jinjun chutan*, 98–117.
2. *SS*, *juan* 446, 13149.
3. Qian Mu, *Zhongguo lidai zhengzhi deshi* (Taipei: Sanmin shuju, 1974), 63–84; Qi Xia, *Wang Anshi bianfa*, 14–27; Shen Songqin, *Beisong wenren yu dangzheng*, 1–46; Ye Tan, *Da bianfa: Song Shenzong yu shiyi shiji de gaige yundong* (Beijing: Sanlian shuju, 1996), 13–22. For a study of how the examination system helped to increase the number of officials in the Song government, see He Zhongli’s two articles: “Beisong kuoda keju qushi de yuanyin jiyu rongguan rongli de guanxi” *Songshi yanjiu jikan* (Hangzhou: Jiejiang guji chubanshe, 1986), 87–106, and “Kexue zhidu yu Songdai wenhua,” *Lishi yanjiu*, 1990: 5: 119–35.
4. For a full list of Fan Zhongyan’s “ten-point” reform, see James T. C. Liu, *Ou-yang Hsiu*, 43–44; Peter Bol, “*This Culture of Ours*,” 171–72.
5. James T. C. Liu, *Ou-yang Hsiu*, 44.
6. For a study of Wang Anshi’s reform, see James T. C. Liu, *Reform in Sung China*, 1–10; Peter Bol, “*This Culture of Ours*,” 212–53; Deng Guangming, *Beisong zhengzhi gaigejia Wang Anshi*, 89–154.
7. Peter K. Bol, “Government, Society, and State,” in Robert P. Hymes and Conrad Schirokauer, eds., *Ordering the World*, 128–86.
8. Lü Dalin, “Hengqu xiansheng xingzhuang” (Brief biographical sketch of Master Hengqu), in Zhang Zai, *Zhang Zai ji* (Collected works of Zhang Zai) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1978), 381–84; *SS*, 12723–25; Zhu Xi, *Yiluo yuanyuan lu*, *juan* 6; *Song shi*, 12723–25.
9. Lü Dalin, “Hengqu xiansheng xingzhuang,” *Zhang Zai ji*, 381.
10. For an anthology of writings by the *guanxue* scholars from the Northern Song to the Ming, see Feng Congwu (1557–1627), *Guanxue bian* (Collection of writings of Guan learning) Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987). On the characteristics of *Guanxue* and its significance in the development of Chinese thought, see Chen Junmin, *Zhang Zai zhexue sixiang ji guanxue xuepai* (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1986), 4–8, 32–40.
11. There is a discrepancy in various accounts of Zhang’s age when he wrote a letter to Fan Zhongyan. In “Hengqu xiansheng xingzhuang,” Lü Dalin reported that Zhang was eighteen when he wrote the letter. But in *Songshi*, we are told that Zhang was twenty-one. Both accounts stress that Zhang wrote the letter during the Northern Song expedition against the Xixia in 1040, which puts Zhang at the age of twenty-one.

12. Lü Dalin, “Xingzhuang,” *Zhang Zai ji*, 381; *SS*, 12723; *SYXA* 17:1a; Wing-tsit Chan, in Herbert Franke, ed., *Sung Biographies*, 40; Ira E. Kasoff, *The Thought of Cheng Tsai (1020–1077)* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 182; Huang Xiuji, *Zhang Zai* (Taipei: Dongda tushu gongsi, 1988), 1–2.

13. In Zhang’s time, it was not unusual for a scholar to spend years in learning Buddhism and Daoism. In fact, many scholars (including Cheng Hao, the older brother of Cheng Yi) devoted a considerable amount of time to Buddhism and Daoism. They regarded Buddhism and Daoism as superior to Confucianism with respect to cosmology and to the analysis of the human mind. For a discussion of the widespread interest in Buddhism and Daoism during the mid-Northern Song, see Chen Zhiè, *Beisong wenhua shi shulun* (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1992), 341–96.

14. Lü Dalin, “Xingzhuang,” *Zhang Zai ji*, 381–82; *SS*, 12723; *SYXA* 17:1a–b; Wing-tsit Chan, *Sung Biographies*, 40; Huang Xiuji, *Zhang Zai*, 2. Ira E. Kasoff questions, aptly in my opinion, the validity of such an account. He says: “However, the only information we have about this meeting are the implausible versions written by the [Chengs’] disciples, who sought to cast their masters in the role of teacher, and [Zhang Zai] in the role of pupil” (*The Thought of Chang Tsai*, 182).

15. *SS*, 12723; *SYXA*, 17:1b; Wing-tsit Chan, *Sung Biographies*, 40; Huang Xiuji, *Zhang Zai*, 2.

16. Many scholars of later centuries criticized Zhang Zai for his imbalance in commenting on the *Yijing*. See Ma Duanlin, *Wenxian tongkao*, *juan* 176, 1522. The editors of *Siku qianshu* defended Zhang by saying that the brevity of his commentary did not diminish its value. See *SKQS*, 8: 659–60.

17. Lü Dalin, “Xingzhuang,” *Zhang Zai ji*, 381–82; *SS*, 12723.

18. Lü Dalin, “Xingzhuang,” *Zhang Zai ji*, 382.

19. Lü Dalin, “Xingzhuang,” *Zhang Zai ji*, 382–83; *SS*, 12723. Cf., Chen Jun, *Huangchao biannian gangmu beiyao*, 915–16.

20. For another translation of the *Tuan* statement, see Wilhelm/Baynes *The I Ching*, 407. For a discussion of Zhang Zai’s naming of *Zheng meng* after the *Tuan* statement of Hexagram “Meng,” see Liu Ji, “Zhengmeng huigao xu” (Preface to collected writings on *Zheng meng*), and Wang Fuzhi, “Zhangzi zhengmeng zhu xulun” (Preface to a commentary on Master Zhang’s *Zheng meng*), *Zhang Zai ji*, 406–407.

21. *SYXA*, 17:1a–5a.

22. “Hengqu yishuo,” *SKQS* 8: 662; *Zhang Zai ji*, 72.

23. See *Doctrine of the Mean*, chapter 7, and *Analects* chapter 6, lines 2, 5, 9. For a translation of the *Analects* lines, see de Bary, *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, volume 1, 50.

24. “Hengqu yishuo,” *SKQS* 8: 663; *Zhang Zai ji*, 73.

25. “Hengqu yishuo,” *SKQS* 8: 664–5; *Zhang Zai ji*, 75–76.

26. “Hengqu yishuo,” *SKQS* 8: 665; *Zhang Zai ji*, 76.

27. For a translation of the line statement, see Wilhelm/Baynes, *The I Ching*, 342.
28. “Zhouyi zhengyi,” *SKQS* 7: 559.
29. For a discussion of this cult of Yan Hui during the Northern Song, see Ira E. Kasoff, *The Thought of Chang Tsai*, 26–28.
30. *SYXA*, 11:5a.
31. Cheng Hao and Cheng Yi, *Er Cheng ji*, 578; *SYXA*, 16:4b.
32. “Zhouyi zhu,” *Wang Bi ji jiaoshi*, 464–74.
33. “Zhouyi zhengyi,” *SKQS* 7: 471–73.
34. For a translation of the line statement, see Wilhelm/Baynes, *The I Ching*, 192.
35. “The superior man changes like a tiger” (*da ren hu bian*) is from the fifth line statement of “Ge.”
36. “Hengqu yishuo,” *SKQS* 8: 713; *Zhang Zai ji*, 153.
37. The translation is from Wilhelm/Baynes, *The I Ching*, 653.
38. “Hengqu yishuo,” *SKQS* 8: 713; *Zhang Zai ji*, 153.
39. For a translation of the hexagram line, see Wilhelm/Baynes, *The I Ching*, 652–53.
40. “Hengqu yishuo,” *SKQS* 8: 715–16; *Zhang Zai ji*, 157.
41. “Hengqu yishuo,” *SKQS* 8: 715–16; *Zhang Zai ji*, 157.
42. For a translation of the *Great Learning*, see de Bary, *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, volume 1, 330–31.
43. de Bary, *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, volume 1, 330.
44. For a translation of the hexagram line, see Wilhelm/Baynes, *The I Ching*, 515. See the hexagram image of “Daxu” in the appendix.
45. “Hengqu yishuo,” *SKQS* 8: 689–90; *Zhang Zai ji*, 117.
46. For a translation of the *Xiang* statement, see Wilhelm/Baynes, *The I Ching*, 557. See the hexagram image of “Dazhuang” in the appendix.
47. “Hengqu yishuo,” *SKQS* 8: 699; *Zhang Zai ji*, 130.
48. The translation of the *Analects* statement is based on D. C. Lau, *Confucius: The Analects* (London: Penguin, 1979), 112. For another translation, see de Bary, *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, volume 1, 55.
49. “Yi wen” (Miscellaneous Writings), *Zhang Zai ji*, 241.
50. “Yi wen,” *Zhang Zai ji*, 242.
51. “Yi wen,” *Zhang Zai ji*, 242.
52. Some scholars render *qi* as matter. But as will be discussed, Zhang Zai does not see *qi* as a concrete object, but a force that can take different forms.

53. The translation is from Wilhelm/Baynes, *The I Ching*, 342–43.
54. “Hengqu yishuo,” *SKQS* 8: 750–51; *Zhang Zai ji*, 224. This commentary also appears in “Zhengmeng,” *Zhang Zai ji*, 8. For a different translation of the passage, see Wing-tsit Chan, *Source Book*, 503.
55. “Hengqu yishuo,” *SKQS* 8: 739; *Zhang Zai ji*, 200. Cf., “Zheng meng,” *Zhang Zaiji*, 8. The translation is from Chan, *Source Book*, 503, with modifications.
56. For a study of the philosophical implications of Zhang Zai’s critique of the reversion from *you* to *wu*, see my article, “Being and Non-Being: A Comparison of the *Yijing* Commentaries of Wang Bi, Kong Yingda, Hu Yuan, and Zhang Zai,” in *Hanxue zongheng* (Excursions in Sinology), edited by Li Zhuoran et al. (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 2002), 195–232.
57. “Zhouyi zhengyi,” *SKQS* 7: 545.
58. “Hengqu yishuo,” *SKQS* 8: 742; *Zhang Zai ji*, 207.
59. “Zhouyi kouyi,” “Xici shang,” *SKQS* 8: 505.
60. “Hengqu yishuo,” *SKQS* 8: 754; *Zhang Zai ji*, 232.
61. For another translation of the *Xici* line, see Wilhelm/Baynes, *The I Ching*, 283.
62. “Hengqu yishuo,” *SKQS* 8: 729; *Zhang Zai ji*, 177.
63. “Zhouyi zhengyi,” *SKQS* 7: 523.
64. This is a quotation from *Xici* I, section 5. For a translation of the entire *Xici* statement, see Wilhelm/Baynes, *The I Ching*, 298.
65. “Hengqu yishuo,” *SKQS* 8: 732; *Zhang Zai ji*, 187.
66. On this understanding of moral metaphysics, see Mou Zongsan, *Xinti yu xingti* (Taipei: Zhengzhong chubanshe, 1968), 1–19; Tu Wei-ming, *Confucian Thought: Selfhood as Creative Transformation*, 35–50.
67. In the *Zhang Zai ji*, the essay “Ximing” appears as part of chapter 17 “Qianchen” of *Zheng meng*. See *Zhang Zai ji*, 62–63.
68. “Zheng ming,” *Zhang Zai ji*, 62–63; Wing-tsit Chan’s translation, *Source Book*, 497–98.
69. Tu Wei-ming, *Confucian Thought: Selfhood as Creative Transformation*, 43–44.
70. For another translation of the *Tuan* statement, see Wilhelm/Baynes, *The I Ching*, 505.
71. Wang Bi, *Wang Bi ji jiaoshi*, 336–37; Kong Yingda, *Zhouyi zhengyi*, 398–99. Cf., Richard John Lynn, *The Classic of Changes*, 286.
72. “Zhouyi zhengyi,” *SKQS* 7: 399.
73. “Hengqu yishuo,” *SKQS* 8: 687; *Zhang Zai ji*, 113.

74. “Hengqu yishuo,” *SKQS* 8: 687–8; *Zhang Zai ji*, 113.
75. See Mou Zongsan, *Xinti yu xingti*, 417–557; Ira E. Kasoff, *The Thought of Chang Tsai*, 1–34; Huang Xiuji, *Zhang Zai*, 1–27; Yu Dunkang, *Neisheng waiwang de guantong*, 263–347.
76. Yu Dunkang, *Neisheng waiwang de guantong*, 335–47.
77. Lü Dalin, “Xingzhuang,” *Zhang Zai ji*, 384; Sima Guang, “You ai hengqu shi” (Another poem lamenting Zhang Zai), *Zhang Zai ji*, 388. For further discussion of Zhang Zai’s thoughts on rituals, see Kai-wing Chow, “Ritual, Cosmology, and Ontology: Chang Tsai’s Moral Philosophy and Neo-Confucian Ethics,” *Philosophy East and West*, 43:2 (April, 1993): 201–28; Yu Dunkang, *Neisheng waiwang de guantong*, 347–63.
78. Zhang Xiqing, “Lun Songdai keju qushi zhiduo yu rongguan wenti,” *Beijing Daxue xuebao* (philosophy and social science edition), 1987: 5: 105–16; Winston W. Lo, *An Introduction to the Civil Service of Sung China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1987), 121–219.
79. For a discussion of the three attempts to reform the examination, Chen Zhiè, *Beisong wenhua shi shulun*, 79.
80. Lü Dalin, for one, criticized the Northern Song government for passing too many unqualified candidates in the civil service examinations (SS, 10848). For a discussion of the problems of Northern Song examination system, see Thomas H. C. Lee, *Government Education and Examination in Sung China*, 163–71; Benjamin A. Elman, *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 12–25.
81. Sima Guang, “You ai hengqu shi” (Another poem lamenting Hengqu), *Zhang Zai ji*, 388.
82. Chen Jun, *Huangchao biannian gangmu beiyao*, juan 22, 985–86.
83. Sima Guang’s letter (*Lun shi shu*) and poem (*You ai Hengqu shi*) are available in *Zhang Zai ji*, 387–88.
84. Sima Guang, “You ai hengqu shi,” *Zhang Zai ji*, 388.
85. Sima Guang, “Da Han Bingguo shu” (A reply letter to Han Bingguo), *QSW* 28: 416–17.
86. “Wengong yishuo,” *SKQS* 8: 604.
87. For a translation of the line statement, see Wilhelm/Baynes, *The I Ching*, 390.
88. “Wengong yishuo,” *SKQS* 8: 574.
89. The phrase appears in Sima Guang’s commentary on “Daguo” (#28), “Wengong yishuo,” *SKQS* 8: 601.
90. “Wengong yishuo,” *SKQS* 8: 601.
91. “Wengong yishuo,” *SKQS* 8: 608.

92. “Wengong yishuo,” *SKQS* 8: 608–609.
93. See Zhu Bokun, *Yixue zhixue shi*, volume 2, 117–78. Shao Yong’s most famous charts include the “Chart of Eight Trigrams from Fu Xi” (*Fu Xi bagua tu*), the “Chart of Eight Trigrams from King Wen” (*Wen Wang bagua tu*), and the “Chart of the Directional Positions of the Sixty-Four Hexagrams to Rule the World” (*Jingshi liushi si gua fangwei tu*).
94. Michael D. Freeman, “From Adept to Worthy: The Philosophical Career of Shao Young [sic],” *Journal of the American Oriental Societies*, 102.3 (1982): 477–91.
95. Anne D. Birdwhistell, *Transition to Neo-Confucianism: Shao Yung on Knowledge and Symbols of Reality* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), especially 227–32.
96. See Kidder Smith et al., *Sung Dynasty Uses of the I Ching*, 100.
97. Don J. Wyatt, *The Recluse of Loyang: Shao Yung and the Moral Evolution of Early Sung Thought* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996), 139–76.
98. Don J. Wyatt, *The Recluse of Loyang*, 163–64.
99. There is evidence of Shao Yong exchanging poetry with Zhang Zai, indicating that he knew Zhang Zai quite intimately. See Shao Yong, “Shi sheng yaofu jian ji bochun zhengshu” (A poem to Zhang Zai and Cheng Hao), *Zhang Zai ji*, 370.
100. Shao Yong, “Guan wu nai pian” *juan 1*, *Huangji jingshi shu* (Taipei: Guangwen shuju, 1988 reprint), 126–27. See also Shao Bowen’s preface to *Huangji jingshi shu*.
101. For a different translation of the paragraph, see Wilhelm/Baynes, *The I Ching*, 262, and James Legge, *The I Ching*, 422.
102. Shao Yong, “Guan wu nai pian” *juan 2*, *Huangji jingshi shu*, 143.
103. Shao Yong, “Guan wu nai pian” *juan 2*, *Huangji jingshi shu*, 148.
104. Shao Yong, “Guan wu nai pian” *juan 12*, *Huangji jingshi shu*, 275–77. For a discussion of Shao Yong’s “*fan guan*,” see Kidder Smith et al., *The Sung Dynasty Uses of the I Ching*, 127–35; Ann Birdwhistell, *Transition to Neo-Confucianism*, 179–96. Here, I follow Birdwhistell’s translation of *fan guan* as “reflective perception.”
105. Shao Yong, “Guan wu nai pian” *juan 2*, *Huangji jingshi shu*, 163–66.
106. Shao Yong, “Guan wu nai pian,” *juan 2*, *Huangji jingshi shu*, 154–59.
107. Shao Yong, “Guan wu nai pian,” *juan 12*, *Huangji jingshi shu*, 278–79.
108. Ann Birdwhistell, *Transition to Neo-Confucianism*, 194.

5. Coming to Terms with Factional Politics

Epigraph: Cheng Yi’s commentary on hexagram “Tai” (Peace, #11), “Yichuan yizhuan,” *SKQS*, 9: 199.

1. See Wang Anshi's discussion of foreign policy with Emperor Shenzong. *XZZ-TJCB*, 6022–83, 6095–97.
2. See Wang Anshi's discussion of domestic policy with Emperor Shenzong, *XZZTJCB*, 6128–29. See also Paul S. Smith, "State Power and Economic Activism during the New Policies, 1068–1085: The Tea and Horse Trade and the 'Green Sprouts' Loan Policy," in Robert P. Hymes and Conrad Schirokauer, eds., *Ordering the World*, 76–127.
3. See Sima Guang's 1074 memorial on Wang Anshi's "New Policies." *XZZTJCB*, 6160–68. See also Qi Xia, *Wang Anshi bianfa*, 122–69; Ye Tan, *Da bianfa*, 83–108.
4. James T. C. Liu, *Ou-yang Hsiu*, 9–10.
5. Chen Jun, *Huangchao biannian gangmu beiyao*, *juan* 22, 986; Li Zhi, *Huang Song shichao gangmu*, 12: 274–75; *SS*, 317–37.
6. Chen Jun, *Huangchao biannian gangmu beiyao*, *juan* 24, 1081–1123; Li Zhi, *Huang Song shichao gangmu*, *juan* 13, 297–300; *SS*, 341.
7. Chen Jun, *Huangchao biannian gangmu beiyao*, *juan* 26, 1200–1259; Li Zhi, *Huang Song shichao gangmu*, *juan* 16, 350–60; *SSi*, 349–60.
8. Chen Jun, *Huangchao biannian gangmu beiyao*, *juan* 26, 1215–16; Li Zhi, *Huang Song shichao gangmu*, *juan* 16, 349–60; *SS*, 365–66.
9. Chen Jun, *Huangchao biannian gangmu beiyao*, *juan* 26, 1215–16.
10. Chen Jun, *Huangchao biannian gangmu beiyao*, *juan* 26, 1224–25.
11. Chen Jun, *Huangchao biannian gangmu beiyao*, *juan* 26, 1224–25; Li Zhi, *Huang Song shichao gangmu*, *juan* 16, 356; *SS*, 366.
12. Cheng Yi finished a first draft of *Yichuan yizhuan* between 1097 and 1099 during his banishment in Fuzhou of today's Sichuan. He continued to improve his commentary until he died. See Zhu Xi, *Yilu yuanyuan lu*, 4: 9a–10a, 18a–20a; *Song shi jishi benmu*, 456; *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*, 15.
13. For instance, in *Zhuzi yulei*, Zhu Xi took Cheng Yi to task for "comprehending the general principle (*da daoli*) but using the *Yijing* to suit his [understanding of] the principle." See *Zhuzi yulei* (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1986), 1653.
14. *Zhuzi yulei*, 1650.
15. Zhu Bokun, *Yixue zhexue shi*, volume 2:185. A case in point in this debate was the doubt that the editors of the *Siku quanshu* raised regarding the authenticity of the writings. The editors stated: "Master Cheng did not believe the mathematics of Master Shao [Yong]. Hence, Master Shao used mathematics to speak about the *Book of Changes* and Master Cheng spoke about Principle (*li*) in transmitting [the text]. The former explained the Way of Heaven (*tiandao*) and the latter concerned himself with human affairs (*renshi*)." *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*, 15.
16. Lin Yisheng, *Yichuan yizhuan de chushi zhexue* (Taipei: Commercial Press, 1978), preface: 1–2.

17. Qiu Hansheng, “Yichuan yizhuan de lixue sixiang” in *Zhonghua xueshu lunwen ji* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 597–632. A similar viewpoint appears in Hou Wailu, Qiu Hansheng, and Zhang Qizhi eds., *Song Ming lixue shi* (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1984), 132–53.
18. Kidder Smith et al., *Sung Dynasty Uses of the I Ching*, 142–52.
19. Kidder Smith et al., *Sung Dynasty Uses of the I Ching*, 150.
20. Zhang Liwen, *Song Ming lixue yanjiu* (Beijing: Zhongguo renmin daxue chubanshe, 1985), 261–62.
21. Cheng Hao and Cheng Yi, *Er Cheng ji* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 593–96.
22. Zhu Xi, *Yiluo yuanyuan lu*, 4: 1a; Zhang Liwen, *Song Ming lixue yanjiu*, 262–63; *Sung Biographies*, 174.
23. SYXA, 11:5a.
24. Zhu Xi, *Yiluo yuanyuan lu*, 4: 1a; SS, 12718; Zhang Liwen, *Song Ming lixue yanjiu*, 272–73; *Sung Biographies*, 174.
25. *Er Cheng ji*, 577–78.
26. Zhang Liwen, *Song Ming lixue yanjiu*, 273.
27. SYXA, 17: 1b; SS, 12723; *Sung Biographies*, 40, 174.
28. Zhu Xi, *Yiluo yuanyuan lu*, 4: 1b–2b; SYXA, 15: 1a–b; Zhang Liwen, *Song Ming lixue yanjiu*, 274.
29. Zhu Xi, *Yiluo yuanyuan lu*, 4: 3a–7a; SYXA, 15: 1b–2a; SS, 12719–20; *Sung Biographies*, 176.
30. Zhu Xi, *Yiluo yuanyuan lu*, 4: 7a–9a; SS, 12720; SYXA, 15: 1b–2a; *Sung Biographies*, 176–77.
31. SS, 12720; SYXA, 15: 2a; *Sung Biographies*, 177–78; Zhang Liwen, *Song Ming lixue yanjiu*, 282.
32. Zhu Xi, *Yiluo yuanyuan lu*, 4: 9a–10a, 18a–20a; *Song shi jishi benmu*, 456; *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*, 15.
33. Zhu Bokun, *Yixue zhexue shi*, volume 2: 187.
34. Zhu Xi, *Yiluo yuanyuan lu*, 4: 10a, 18a–20a.
35. Chen Jun, *Huangchao biannian gangmu beiyao*, juan 26, 1224–25; Li Zhi, *Huang Song shichao gangmu*, juan 16, 356; SS, 366.
36. SS, 12720; *Sung Biographies*, 178.
37. Zhu Xi, *Yiluo yuanyuan lu*, 4: 12b–13a.
38. Cheng Yi’s essay appears in *Er Cheng ji*, 577–78; SYXA, 16:3b–4b. For a translation of Cheng Yi’s treatise, see Wing-tsit Chan, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, 547–50.

39. *Er Cheng ji*, 577; SYXA, 16:4a.
40. *Er Cheng ji*, 577; SYXA, 16:4a.
41. *Er Cheng ji*, 578; SYXA, 16:4b.
42. For a translation of the hexagram statement, see Wilhelm/Baynes, *The I Ching*, 515.
43. “Yichuan yizhuan,” SKQS 9: 253; “Zhouyi Cheng shi zhuan,” *Er Cheng ji*, 827–28.
44. “Yichuan yizhuan,” SKQS 9: 285; “Zhouyi Cheng shi zhuan,” *Er Cheng ji*, 870.
45. Richard Wilhelm, *The I Ching*, 135.
46. “Yichuan yizhuan,” SKQS 9: 287; “Zhouyi Cheng shi zhuan,” *Er Cheng ji*, 872. Cheng Yi expresses similar views regarding “ease” in “Er Cheng yishu” *juan* 19, *Er Cheng ji*, 248. He says: “Loses the goat with ease’ means that goats advance in a group and gore things with their horns. In “Dazhuan” the *yang* lines advance together. As a yin line in a [high] position, line five has no other choice but to neutralize the goats in harmony and ease. ‘Ease’ here does not mean easy, as in difficult and easy (*nanyi*). Instead, it means at ease, as in harmony and ease (*heyi*) or happiness and ease (*leyi*).”
47. *Wang Bi ji jiao shi*, 388.
48. “Zhouyi zhengyi,” SKQS 7: 430.
49. “Zhouyi kouyi,” SKQS 8: 328. Hu Yuan argues that the arrogance of line five causes it to lose “a goat” at a place of no importance.
50. “Yichuan yizhuan,” SKQS 9: 247; “Zhouyi Cheng shi zhuan,” *Er Cheng ji*, 819.
51. Probably for this reason, in Cheng Yi’s students’ notes, we frequently find Cheng Yi criticizing Zhang Zai as being too rigid and limited. For instance, in “Henan Cheng shi yishu” *juan* 18, Cheng Yi reportedly criticized Zhang Zai in the following manner: “Zihou [Zhang Zai] is meticulous and strict. Since he is meticulous and strict, he has an atmosphere of urgency, without any tolerance” (*Er Cheng ji*, 196).
52. “Yichuan yizhuan,” SKQS 9: 276; “Zhouyi Cheng shi zhuan,” *Er Cheng ji*, 857–58.
53. Cheng Yi’s essay “Xici” can be found in *Er Cheng ji*, 1027–30.
54. *Zhang Zai ji*, 240–41.
55. *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*, 15.
56. For another translation of the *Xugua* statement, see Wilhelm/Baynes, *The I Ching*, 398.
57. “Yichuan yizhuan,” SKQS 9: 169–70; “Zhouyi Cheng shi zhuan,” *Er Cheng ji*, 713–14.
58. “Yichuan yizhuan,” SKQS 9: 173; “Zhouyi Cheng shi zhuan,” *Er Cheng ji*, 718.
59. For another translation of the *Xugua* statement, see Wilhelm/Baynes, *The I Ching*, 406.

60. For another translation of the *Xugua* statement, see Wilhelm/Baynes, *The I Ching*, 714.

61. “Yichuan yizhuan,” *SKQS* 9: 397; “Zhouyi Cheng shi zhuan,” *Er Cheng ji*, 1022.

62. “Yichuan yizhuan,” *SKQS* 9: 397; “Zhouyi Cheng shi zhuan,” *Er Cheng ji*, 1022.

63. *Wang Bi ji jiaoshi*, 591. Wing-tsit Chan’s translation with modifications, see *Source Book*, 318–19. For another translation, see Richard John Lynn, *The Classic of Changes*, 26.

64. “Yichuan yizhuan,” *SKQS* 9: 198; “Zhouyi Cheng shi zhuan,” *Er Cheng ji*, 753.

65. “Yichuan yizhuan,” *SKQS* 9: 198; “Zhouyi Cheng shi zhuan,” *Er Cheng ji*, 753.

66. “Yichuan yizhuan,” *SKQS* 9: 203; “Zhouyi Cheng shi zhuan,” *Er Cheng ji*, 759.

67. “Yichuan yizhuan,” *SKQS* 9: 203; “Zhouyi Cheng shi zhuan,” *Er Cheng ji*, 759.

68. Jiang Shaoyu, *Songchao shishi leiyan*, 13–14.

69. Sima Guang, *Sushui jiwen*, 124; Jiang Shaoyu, *Songchao shishi lieyan*, 27; *SS*, 9821–23.

70. *XZZTJCB*, 9263–67, 9434–35, 9757–58.

71. “Yichuan yizhuan,” *SKQS*, 9: 291; “Zhouyi Cheng shi zhuan,” *Er Cheng ji*, 878.

72. Peter K. Bol, “Government, Society and State,” in Robert Hymes and Conrad Schirokauer, eds., *Ordering the World*, 128.

73. For further discussion of the basic differences between Fan Zhongyan’s “ten-point” reform and Wang Anshi’s “New Policies,” see Deng Guangming, *Beisong zhengzhi gaigejia Wang Anshi*, 137–53; Qi Xia, *Wang Anshi bianfa*, 54–169; Ye Tan, *Da bianfa*, 27–72.

74. For a translation of the line statement, see Wilhelm/Baynes, *The I Ching*, 443.

75. “Yichuan yizhuan,” *SKQS* 9: 199; “Zhouyi Cheng shi zhuan,” *Er Cheng ji*, 755.

76. For a translation of the line statement, see Wilhelm/Baynes, *The I Ching*, 97.

77. “Yichuan yizhuan,” *SKQS* 9: 246; “Zhouyi Cheng shi zhuan,” *Er Cheng ji*, 818.

78. In 1044, Lan Yuanzheng submitted a memorial to Emperor Renzong accusing Fan Zhongyan of forming a faction. Lan’s memorial, “Lun Fan Zhongyan jiedang zou” (Memorial on Fan Zhongyan forming a faction), is available in *QSW* 14: 605.

79. To defend Fan Zhongyan, Cai Xiang wrote a series of poems, known as “Si xian yi buxiao shi” (Poems on four virtuous gentlemen and one delinquent). See *Cai Xiangji* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1996), 8–11.

80. Sun Fu, “Bian pengdang” *QSW* 13: 267–70.

81. Yin Zhu, “Lun pengdang shu,” *QSW* 14: 246–47.

82. Jiang Shaoyu, *Songchao shishi leiyan*, 175–76.

83. Jiang Shaoyu, *Songchao shishi leiyuan*, 175–76. The translation of the *Xici* statement is from Wilhelm/Baynes, *The I Ching*, 280.

84. Ouyang Xiu, “Pengdang lun,” QSW 17: 729–30.

85. For a study of various measures that early Northern Song emperors employed to check the power of civil bureaucrats, see Qian Mu, *Guoshi dagang*, 393–414; Deng Guangming, “Songchao de jiafa yu beisong de zhengzhi gaige yundong,” in *Beisong zhengzhi gaigejia Wang Anshi*, 347–69.

86. Wm. Theodore de Bary, “A Reappraisal of Neo-Confucianism,” Arthur F. Wright (ed.), *Studies in Chinese Thought* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), 105. In *Song Ming lixue gailun*, 30–32, Qian Mu also makes a similar argument by distinguishing the early Northern Song intellectual scene from the late Northern Song intellectual scene.

87. Shao Bowen, *Shaoshi wenjian lu*, 146. For studies of the factional rivalry among the “antireform group,” see Xiao Qingwei, *Beisong xinjiu dangzheng yu wenxue*, 31; Shen Songqin, *Beisong wenren yu dangzheng*, 145–55.

88. On page 56 of *Sung Dynasty Uses of the I Ching*, Peter K. Bol dates Su Shi’s composition of *Dongpo yizhuan* to between 1079 and 1084, during his exile to Huangzhou. Recent studies have shown that Su Shi did not complete his commentary until he returned from his exile to Hainan Island in 1100. See Jin Shengyang, *Su shi yizhuan yanjiu* (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 2002), 56–64, 112; *San Su quan shu* (Beijing: Yuwen chubenshe, 2001) 1: 129–30.

89. To highlight the fact the *Dongpo yizhuan* was a group effort of Su Xun, Su Shi, and Su Zhe, some scholars suggest that it should be called *Su shi yizhuan* (The *Yi* commentary of the Su family). See Zeng Zaozhuan, “Su shi yizhuan yu san Su de dao jiao xixiang,” *San Su yanjiu* (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1999), 91–111; Shu Dagang’s preface to Jin Shengyang, *Su shi yizhuan yanjiu*, 13–14. See also the preface of Zeng Zaozhuan and Shu Dagang to *San Su quan shu*, volume 1: 23–31. However, despite the group effort, Su Shi was the editor/compiler who gave the commentary its final form. It is on this ground that the eighteenth-century editors of *Siku quanshu* adopted the title *Dongpo yizhuan* to honor Su Shi’s contribution (See *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*, 14). In this chapter, I follow the precedent of *Siku quanshu*.

90. Because of Su Shi’s opposition to reform, for a period of time after its completion *Dongpo yizhuan* was circulated under the title of *Piling yizhuan* (A commentary on *Yi* [by a person] from Piling) to avoid the attention of the censors. See *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*, 14.

91. *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*, 14.

92. *Sung Dynasty Uses of the I Ching*, 83.

93. “Dongpo yizhuan,” SKQS 9: 146; cf., “Su shi yizhuan,” *San Su quan shu* 1: 392.

94. For a translation of the hexagram line, see Wilhelm/Baynes, *The I Ching*, 531–32.

95. “Dongpo yizhuan,” SKQS 9: 54; cf., “Su shi yizhuan,” *San Su quan shu* 1: 236.

96. Su Shi discussed this double nature of the river in his discussion of the “heart and mind of the river” (*shui zhi xin*) in the second part of his commentary on the Tuan statement of “Xikan.” See “Dongpo yizhuan,” *SKQS* 9: 54; cf., “Su shi yizhuan,” *San Su quan shu* 1: 236.

97. See the commentaries of Wang Bi and Kong Yingda on the hexagram “Kun,” “Zhouyi zhengyi,” *SKQS* 7: 328–34; see also the commentaries of Han Kangbo and Kong Yingda on the first paragraph of *Xici* I, “Zhouyi zhengyi,” *SKQS* 7: 521–26.

98. For a translation of the hexagram statement, see Wilhelm/Baynes, *The I Ching*, 690.

99. “Dongpo yizhuan,” *SKQS* 9: 109; cf., “Su shi yizhuan,” *San Su quan shu* 1: 326.

100. See Su Shi’s commentary on the Tuan statement of hexagram “Tai,” in “Dongpo yizhuan,” *SKQS* 9: 24; cf., “Su shi yizhuan,” *San Su quan shu* 1: 180.

101. See Su Shi’s commentary on the Xiang statement of hexagram “Tongren,” in “Dongpo yizhuan,” *SKQS* 9: 27; cf., “Su shi yizhuan,” *San Su quan shu* 1: 185–86.

102. In the Southern Song, factional politics not only appeared in major policy debates but also in the form of evaluating the link between Wang Anshi’s reform and the loss of the Northern Song. For a general discussion of how Northern Song factional politics influenced Southern Song politics and learning, see Deng Guangming, *Deng Guangming zhishi congkao*, 163–76; Qi Xia, *Tan zhi ji*, 1–46. For special studies of how factional politics influenced Southern Song scholars’ view of the Northern Song, see Li Huarui, *Song shi lun ji* (Collected writings on Song history) (Biaoding: Hebei daxue chubanshe, 2001), 135–71.

Conclusion

1. Chao Gongwu, *Junzhai dushu zhi jiaozheng* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990).

2. See Chao, *Junzhai dushu zhi jiaozheng*, 7–16.

3. See Chao’s comments on the *Yijing* commentaries of Shi Jie, Xian Yushen, Lü Dafeng, and Zhu Zhen. See *Junzhai dushu zhi jiaozheng*, 35–45.

4. Zhu Zhen, “Han shang yi zhuan biao” (Memorial on a *Yijing* commentary based on Han [school]), *SKQS* 11: 1. For a study of Zhu Zhen’s view on *Yijing* studies, see Imai Usaburo, *Sodai ekigaku no kenkyū*, 85–101; Mao Huaixin, “Zhu Zhen de shengping ji qi han sheng yi zhuan zhong de xiangshu xue,” *Zhongguo zhhexue*, 8 (1982): 114–51.

5. Zhu Zhen provided the diagrams in *Han shang yi zhuan*. See *SKQS* 11: 308–11.

6. “Yuan ben zhuyi benyi xu” (Original preface to the *Zhouyi benyi*). See *SKQS* 12: 625.

7. “Yuan ben zhuyi benyi xu,” *SKQS* 12: 625. For a study of Zhu Xi’s perspective on the *Yijing*, see Joseph Alder’s chapter, “Chu Hsi and Divination,” in Kidder Smith et al., *Sung Dynasties Uses of the I Ching*, 169–205.

8. See Zhu Xi, “Za xue bian” (Distinguishing the impure learning), *Zhuzi yishu* (Taibei: Yiwen yinshu guan, 1969 reprint), 1a–8b.

9. *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*, 2.

10. In their studies of the Northern Song *Yijing* commentaries, many contemporary *Yijing* scholars take for granted the view of the *Siku quanshu* editors. See, for instance, Qian Jibo, *Zhouyi jieti ji qu dufa*, 38–44; Xu Qinting, “Songdai zhi yixue,” *Kongmeng xuebao*, 42 (1981), 173–76; Zhu Bokun, *Yixue zhexue shi*, volume 2: 1–7; Liao Mingchun, Kang Xuewei, and Liang Weixian, *Zhouyi yanjiu shi*, 198–207; Xu Zhirui, *Song Ming yixue gailun*.

11. *Scripture, Canon, and Commentary*, 100–102.

12. My understanding of the three-way interactions of text, commentarial tradition, and historical time of commentators draws on Steven D. Fraade’s study of the early interpretations of Torah. See *From Tradition to Commentary: Torah and Its Interpretation in the Midrash Sifre to Deuteronomy*, 25–68.

13. Daniel K. Gardner, “Confucian Commentary and Chinese Intellectual History,” *Journal of Asian Studies*, 57, 2 (May 1998): 417.

14. For a review of the current debate on the social mobility of the Song, see John W. Chaffee, *The Thorny Gates of Learning*, xxi–xxx. In *Powerful Relations*, Beverly J. Bossler offers a thoughtful assessment of the examination system. She argues that although the examination system was not “the great engine of social mobility,” it facilitated “the integration of the state and society in China far beyond the level that had existed in earlier eras” (53).

15. Ichisada Miyazaki describes the pressure and tension in the Song civil service examinations as being “hellish.” See *China’s Examination Hell: The Civil Service Examination in Imperial China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963). Based on poetry, Tao Jingsheng demonstrates the widespread anxiety among the Song civil bureaucrats regarding the future of their families. See *Beisong shizu*, 27–63.

16. From Henan, Lü Mengzheng was the grand counselor of Taizong. Beginning with him, his family continued to produce scores of successful candidates of the civil service examinations, many of whom went on to become powerful officials in the Northern Song government. Among the powerful Lü’s were Yijian (979–1044), the grand counselor of Renzong, and Gongzhu (1018–1089), the grand counselor of Zhezong. For biographies of the three Lü’s, see *SS*, 9145–50, 10206–210, 10772–77.

17. Peter K. Bol, “*This Culture of Ours*,” 327–42.

18. See Patricia Buckley Ebrey, *Confucianism and Family Rituals in Imperial China: A Social History of Writing about Rites*, 45–67.

19. Chinese scholars are particularly negative about the Northern Song bureaucratic factionalism. See Luo Jiaxiang, *Beisong dangzheng yanjiu*, 20–35; Xiao Qingwei, *Beisong xinjiu dangzheng yu wenxue*, 12–43, Shen Songqin, *Beisong wenren yu dangzheng*, 47–87, 115–80, Zhu Zhiyan and Chen Shengmin, *Pengdang zhengzhi yanjiu* (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubanshe, 1992), 1–32. In *Powerful Relations*, Beverly Bossler

considers bureaucratic factionalism as one of the factors leading to the downfall of some Grand Councilor families (62–67).

20. A prime example is the partisan treatment of Wang Anshi's "New Policy" in *Song shi*. Written in the Yuan period, the editors of *Song shi* presented Wang Anshi's reforms in a negative light and gave the "Yuanyou transformation" a positive assessment. See, for instance, the "historian's comments" (*zan*) on Emperors Shenzong and Zhezong (*SS*, 314, 354); see also the "Biographies of Wicked Officials" (*Jianchen zhuan*) (*SS*, *juan* 471–72, 13697–13742) in which all the supporters of Wang Anshi's reforms (but not Wang Anshi himself) were put. For a summary of how this partisan view of Wang Anshi's reforms has shaped the historical interpretation of the Northern Song from the thirteenth century to the present time, see Qi Xia, "Guan yu Wang Anshi bianfa yanjiu zhong di jige wenti," in *Wang Anshi bianfa* (Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 2001), 319–47.

21. Xiao Qingwei, *Beisong xinjiu dangzheng yu wenxue*, 35–37; Shen Songqin, *Beisong wenren yu dangzheng*, 47–57; Zhu Zhiyan and Chen Shengmin, *Pengdang zhengzhi yanjiu*, 46–54.

Glossary of Chinese Terms and Names

An Lushan 安祿山

an jun 暗君

an tu dun hu ren gu neng ai 安土敦乎
仁故能愛

beijiu shi bingquan 杯酒釋兵權

beisong wuzi 北宋五子

ben 本

benmo 本末

bianyi 變易

bianyi er buqiong 變易而不窮

biji 筆記

buji 不濟

buyi 不易

Cai Jing 蔡京

Cai Que 蔡確

Cai Xiang 蔡襄

Can liang 參兩

Changluluo zixu 長樂老自序

Chao Gongwu 晁公武

chen 臣

chen dao 臣道

Chen Tuan 陳搏

Chen Yinke 陳寅恪

Cheng Hao 程顥

Cheng Xiang 程珦

Cheng Yi 程頤

Cheng-Zhu 程朱

Chudi 出帝

Chun ru 純儒

Chunqiu 春秋

Da yi 大易

dang 黨

dang ren 黨人

dao 道

daoxue 道學

daren 大人

Daxiang 大象

Daxue 大學

de 德

di 地

dian shi 殿試

Dongpo yizhuan 東坡易傳

fa ti 發題

fa zhi 法治

fan 反

Fan Chunren 范純仁

fan guan 反觀

Fan Zhen 范鎮

Fan Zhi 范質

Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹

Feng Dao 馮道

Feng Yuan 馮元

fu (rhapsodic poem) 賦

fu (return) 復

fuli 復禮

gang rou xiang mo 剛柔相摩

gaomen dazu 高門大族

guan 關

guan wu 觀物

guanxue 關學

guanzhong 關中

Guo Xi 郭熙

guwen 古文

Han Bingguo 韓秉國

Han Kangbo 韓康伯

Han Qi 韓琦

Han Yu 韓愈

Hangzhou 杭州

He tu 河圖

Hengqu xiansheng 橫渠先生

Hengqu yishuo 橫渠易說

Hongfan kouyi 洪範口義

houtian 後天

Hu Anguo 胡安國

Hu Yuan 胡瑗

Huang Chao 黃巢

Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅

huangdi yu shidafu gongzhi tianxia

皇帝與士大夫共治天下

Huangji jingshi shu 皇極經世書

Huangyou xinyue tuji 皇祐新樂圖記

ji hu tianxia guojia zhiyong 急乎天下

國家之用

jia peng 假朋

Jia ren zhuan 家人傳

Jianchen zhuan 姦臣傳

Jiao Yanshou 焦延壽

jie du shi 節度使

jin shi 進士

jin xing 盡性

jing 經

Jing Feng 京房

jing zhong zhi dong 靜中之動

jingyi zhai 經義齋

jiu dang 舊黨

Jiu Wudai shi 舊五代史

jun 君

junxue 郡學

junzi 君子

junzi youdang lun 君子有黨論

Kaifeng 開封

Kaiping 開平

keji 可濟

Kong Daofu 孔道輔

Kong Yingda 孔穎達

Lan Yuanzhen 藍元震

Laozi 老子

Laozi zhu 老子注

le tian zhi ming 樂天知命

leyi 樂易

li 理

Li Cunxu 李存勖

Li Dingzuo 李鼎祚

Li Gou 李覲

Li Guang 李光

Li Guangdi 李光地

Li Keyong 李克用

Li Siyuan 李嗣遠

Li Tao 李燾

li yi fen shu 理一分殊

liangpai liuzong 兩派六宗

Liji 禮記

Liu Mu 劉牧

Liu Zhi 劉摯

Lu Deming 陸德明

Lü Dafang 呂大防

Lü Dalin 呂大臨

Lü Gongzhu 呂公著

Lü Huiqing 呂惠卿

Lü Mengzheng 呂蒙正

Lü Yijian 呂夷簡

Luo dang 洛黨

Luo shu 洛書

Luoyang 洛陽

Mi Fu 米芾

ming 命

ming jing 明經

ming jun 明君

ming tuan 明象

ming yin 明隱

mo 末

Mu Xiu 穆修

nanyi 難易

neisheng 內聖

Ni Tianyin 倪天隱

Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修

pang xing er bu liu 旁行而不流

Pengdang lun 朋黨論

Piling yizhuan 昆陵易傳

pingyi zhishi 平易之時

Pu Anyi 濮安懿

Pu yi 濮議

qi 氣

qi yu guo ye 其于國也

Qian chen 乾稱

Qian long wu yong 乾龍勿用

qihuo tianxia houshi 欺惑天下後世

Qin Guan 秦觀

qing 情

qing qi xing 情其性

qing xu zhi shi 清虛之事

Qingli 慶曆

qiong li 窮理

Quan Song wen 全宋文

Quan Zuwang 全祖望

Ren 仁

renshi xiu 人事修

renzhi 人治

rongbin 冗兵

rongfei 冗費

rongguan 冗官

rongyi zhidi 容易之地

Ruan Yi 阮逸

san dai zhi li 三代之禮

san gang 三綱

san ji zhi dao 三極之道

San jing xin yi 三經新義

san rong 三冗

shan 善

Shanding yitu xulun 刪定易圖序論

Shangxia pianyi 上下篇義

Shao Yong 邵雍

shaoshu 邵述

sheng 生

sheng sheng zhi wei yi 生生之謂易

shengren 聖人

shi 士

Shi Chonggui 石重貴

Shi Jie 石介

Shi Jingtang 石敬瑭

shicheng liulong 時乘六龍

Shijing 詩經

shiyi 十翼

shizhi yu renshi 施之于人事

shu 疏

Shu dang 蜀黨

shui zhi xin 水之性

Shujing 書經

shun hu tian er ying hu ren 順乎天而
應乎人

Shuogua 說卦

si zhi yu ren shi 斯之于人事

sihai 四海

Siku quanshu 四庫全書

Sima Guang 司馬光

Sima Qian 司馬遷

Song 宋

Song Qi 宋琪

Song shi 宋史

Song Yuan xue'an 宋元學案

Songxue 宋學

Su Shi 蘇軾

Su Xun 蘇洵

Su Zhe 蘇轍

Sun Fu (992-1057) 孫復

Sun Fu (998-1057) 孫甫

Sun Sheng 孫升

Sun Shi 孫奭

Sushui jiwen 涑水記聞

Suzhou 蘇州

Tai he 太和

Taiji tu 太極圖

Taiji tushuo 太極圖說

Taiping guangji 太平廣記

Taiping yulan 太平御覽

taixue 太學

Taizhou 泰州

Tang Jie 唐介

tian 天

Tian dao 天道

Tian Xi 田錫

tiandi zhixin 天地之心

tianming 天命

tianshu 天書

tianxia wu banguo zhidao 天下無邦
國之道

tongnian 同年

Tuan 象

Tuo Tuo 脫脫

waiwang 外王

Wang Anshi 王安石

Wang Bi 王弼

wang chen jian jian 王臣蹇蹇

Wang Dan 王旦

wang dao 王道

Wang Di 王覲

Wang Pu 王溥

Wang Qinruo 王欽若

Wang Yucheng 王禹偁

wangdao ming 王道明

wei chen zhi dao 為臣之道

wei jun zhi dao 為君之道

Wen Yanbo 文彥博

Wengong yishuo 溫公易說

Wenyan 文言

wu 無

wuchang 五常

Wuhuang 武皇

Wujing 五經

Wujing zhengyi 五經正義

wulun 五倫

wuming 無名

wuwei 無為

wuxing 無形

wuyang 無陽

wuyin 無陰

wuyou 無有

xiande 顯德

xiang 象

xiangshu 象數

xiantian 先天

Xiantian tu 先天圖

Xianzu 獻祖

xiao 效

xiaoren 小人

Xiaoxiang 小象

Xici 系辭

Ximing 西銘

xin dang 新黨

Xin Wudai shi 新五代史

xin zheng 新政

xing 性

xing er shang 形而上

xing er xia 形而下

xing ming 性命

xing qi qing 性其情

Xing Shu 邢璣

Xixia 西夏

xixing yi jie qixin 錫姓以結其心

xu 序

xuanxue 玄學

xue 學

Xue Juzheng 薛居正

Xugua 序卦

ya sheng 亞聖

Yan Hui 顏回

yang 陽

yang qi xing 養其性

Yang Wanli 楊萬里

Yanzi suohao hexue lun 顏子所好何
學論

Yi huo wen 易或問

yi ren shi yan zhi 以人事言之
 Yi tong shu 易通書
 Yi tongzi wen 易童子問
 yi wo guan wu 以我觀物
 yi wu guan wu 以物觀物
 yi yin yi yang zhi wei dao 一陰一陽
 之謂道
 Yi zhi san ming 易之三名
 yichao liangguo 一朝兩國
 Yichuan yizhuan 伊川易傳
 yier jun 義兒軍
 yijian 易簡
 Yijing 易經
 yili 義理
 Yilun shisan pian 易論十三篇
 Yiluo yuanyuan lu 伊洛淵源錄
 yin (cosmic force) 陰
 yin (patronage) 蔭
 Yin yi zhuan 隱逸傳
 Yin Zhu 尹洙
 Yiwei qianzaodu 易緯乾鑿度
 Yiwen zhi 藝文志
 Yixu 易序
 Yizhuan xu 易傳序
 you 有
 you huan 憂患
 youxing 有形
 Yu Jing 余靖
 yuan 元

 Zagua 雜卦
 zan 贊

Zhang Dun 章惇
 Zhang Zai 張載
 Zhao Pu 趙普
 zhen peng 真朋
 Zheng meng 正蒙
 zheng qi xin 正其心
 Zheng Xuan 鄭玄
 zhengyi 正義
 zhi guo 治國
 zhi ming 至命
 zhi shen zhi dao 治身之道
 zhishi zhai 治事齋
 Zhong Fang 种放
 Zhongyi zhuan 忠義傳
 Zhongyong 中庸
 Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤
 zhou er fu shi 周而復始
 Zhou Guan 周官
 Zhouyi 周易
 Zhouyi daquan 周易大全
 Zhouyi kouyi 周易口義
 Zhouyi lüeli 周易略例
 Zhouyi zhengyi 周易正義
 Zhouyi zhezhong 周易折中
 Zhouyi zhu 周易注
 zhu 注
 Zhu Wen 朱溫
 Zhu Xi 朱熹
 Zhu Zhen 朱震
 Zhuangzi 莊子
 zunwang rangyi 尊王攘夷
 zuzong zhi fa 祖宗之法

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